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THE TEACHING

OF

THE TWELVE APOSTLES

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ

RECENTLY DISCOVERED AND PUBLISHED BY PHILOTHEOS BRYENNIOS, METROPOLITAN OF NICOMEDIA

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

111367

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS new edition of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" is issued in accordance with a purpose entertained by the editors when the first was published. That edition was prepared in great haste (March 17–25, 1884), in order to give speedy circulation to Bryennios' great discovery, and, from the nature of the case, could not even raise, much less answer, many important questions suggested by the treatise. The attempt is now made to do this with relative completeness, and also to give suitable recognition to the extensive literature of the subject, which the intervening months have produced. The size of the book has thus been greatly increased, and the editors desire to express their

thanks to the publishers, whose kindness has allowed them full liberty in this respect.

Among the special features of this edition may be noticed the discussions as to the integrity of the text; as to the relations between the "Teaching" and other early Christian documents, with translations of these, *in extenso*, so far as seemed desirable for purposes of comparison; the presentation, entire, with annotations, of Krawutzcky's now famous reproduction of "The Two Ways;" the sections on the peculiarities of the Codex, the printed texts, and the recent literature; and the care expended on the history of the characteristic Greek words of the "Teaching." A few slight errors have been corrected in the text, and the translation has been carefully revised.

That a book of this size and nature might be a joint work, it was necessary to divide the labor. While, therefore, both editors assume the responsibility of the translation, the senior editor is alone responsible for the Notes, and the junior

editor for the Introduction. The Appendix owes its fulness to the courtesy of their colleague, Dr. Philip Schaff, who has placed at their disposal a descriptive catalogue of important titles. The text is, as before, a close copy of that of Bryennios.

The disparaging criticisms made upon the treatise in some quarters have not altered the opinion of the present editors that it is one of the richest discoveries of recent times. Attempts to discredit it, as a modern forgery, involve a wanton impeachment of its learned and well-known discoverer, and betray an imperfect acquaintance with the subject. A forger would have made his work answer more of the old questions, and open fewer new ones. The arguments of those who, for one reason or another, would bring the work down to the third or fourth century, and thus strip it of all special significance, will be found sufficiently answered in the following pages. The priority of the "Teaching" to Barnabas, here maintained, would

go far to disprove, also, the leading positions of Krawutzcky's sharp and suggestive paper in the *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1884, IV. (received too late for notice in the course of the discussion), *viz.*, that our treatise is not the same with the "Two Ways" reconstructed by him, but is of late origin, and Ebionitic tendency. The editors feel sure that continued study will only add to the interest felt by scholars in this unique product of early Christianity, and enhance their estimate of its importance.

The former edition met with a much warmer reception than they had presumed to expect. They now venture to hope there are many to whom the fuller discussions of the present volume will not be unwelcome.

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UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
NEW YORK CITY, March 16, 1885.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The Jerusalem Codex.

The complete *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* is contained in only one known manuscript; from this manuscript it has been edited and published by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia,[1] in Asia Minor, and upon his work all other issues of the text depend. The manuscript was found by him in 1873,[2] in the library attached to the Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre, in the Phanar, or Greek quarter, of Constantinople, where it is now preserved. The monastery and library are connected with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and hence Bryennios called the MS. the *Jerusalem Codex*.[3]

[1] ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ *ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου* ΝΥΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΚΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ *μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῆς Συνόψεως τῆς Π. Δ., τῆς ὑπὸ Ἰωάνν. τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, σύγκρισις καὶ μέρος ἀνέκδοτον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειρογράφου.* ΥΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΡΥΕΝΝΙΟΥ *μητροπολίτου* Νικομηδείας. ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ 1883. ΤΥΠΟΙΣ Σ. Ι. ΒΟΥΤΥΡΑ.

[2] See E. A. Grosvenor, *Andover Review*, November, 1884, p. 515.

[3] This designation (I.) for the new Codex was adopted also by Hilgenfeld, *Clem. Rom. Epistulæ*, Lipsiæ, 1876; retained, *Doctrina XII.*

It contains several ancient documents, and first became known to the world when, in 1875, Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Sérres (Serræ) in ancient Macedonia, published from it the two Epistles of Clement of Rome.[1] He described the MS. as consisting of one hundred and twenty leaves of vellum of the size of a small octavo (19 ctm. long, and 15 broad, or about 7.6 by 6 inches). It is entirely by one hand, and bears the following signature:

Ἐτελειώθη μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰς τὴν ιᾱ, ἡμέρᾳ Γ̄, Ἰνδικτ. Θ, ἔτους στφξδ', χειρὶ Λέοντος νοταρίου καὶ ἀλείτου.

I.e., "(It) was finished in the month of June, upon the 11th (of the month), day 3d (of the week, *i.e.*, Tues-

Apostolorum (in *Evang. sec. Hebr.*, etc., Ed. II.), 1884. Bishop Lightfoot, however (S. Clement of Rome, Appendix, 1877), cites it as C. (Constantinopolitanus), and so Gebhardt and Harnack (*Clem. Rom. ad Corinth. quæ dicuntur Epistolæ*, Patr. Apost. Op. Fasc. I., Part I., Ed. II., Lipsiæ, 1876); they are followed by Funk, *Opera Patr. Apost.*, Vol. I., Tubingæ, 1881. Cf. Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, Leipz., 1884, Proleg., p. 13.—We know of no other reason for the name than that given above. The title of J. J. Prins' ed. of the text (Leiden, 1884), with the words "*e codice Hierosolymitano, nunc Constantinopolitano*," rests, so far as appears, on a mere assumption, in which, indeed, Prins is not alone. Petersen (*Lehre d. Zwölf Apostel*, Flensburg, 1884) even supposes that the MS. was found at Jerusalem!

[1] ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΑΙ ΔΥΟ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ. *Ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς ἐν Φαναρίῳ Κων / πόλεως Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου* ΝΥΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΚΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ ΠΛΗΡΕΙΣ, *μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων, ὑπὸ* ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΡΥΕΝΝΙΟΥ. ΕΝ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΙ, 1875.

day), Indiction 9, of the year 6564,[1] by the hand of Leon, scribe and sinner."

The MS. is numbered 446.[2]

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[1] From the Creation, placed by the Greek reckoning at B.C. 5508. Hence the date of the MS. is (6564–5508) 1056 A.D.

[2] Bryennios, 456, and so other writers on the subject, after him. But see Prof. Albert L. Long, D.D., *Independent*, July 31, 1884, p. (967) 7. Prof. Long has examined the MS. himself. He says: "Whether it [456] was a typographical error, or the volumes of the library have been renumbered, I could not find out." By a singular fatality of pen or type, the number has been repeatedly given with yet other variations; thus in a letter to the *Boston Advertiser* (of July 30, 1884), dated at Constantinople, July 12th, it is casually mentioned as 476. It appears as 478 in *Journ. of Christ. Phil.*, April, 1884, p. 365 (J. R. Harris), while C. W. Russell, who reviewed Bryennios' Epistles of Clement for the *Academy*, is made to represent it as 156 (*Acad.*, May 6, 1876, p. 437). In this connection the following remarks are worthy of note:

"Catalogus codicum bibliothecæ illius, anno 1845 a Bethmanno confectus, exstat in Pertzii *Archiv der Gesellsch. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, vol. 9, p. 645 sqq. Sed codicis nostri nulla ibi fit mentio. Cf. etiam Guigniant in *Journal Général de l'Instruction Publique*, Paris (1856), xxv., 419 (*The Academy*, 1876, May 6, p. 437)."—Geb. and Harn., loc. cit., p. xi, not. 7.—Perhaps the lack of mention of the MS. in the catalogue referred to may be explained, wholly or partially, by the following extract from a letter by Bryennios (*Andover Review*, June, 1884, p. 663): " . . . In perusing over the [library] catalogue of manuscripts my attention was particularly attracted to this one because of its contents; in fact, the Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments, by St. John Chrysostom, was the oldest treatise contained in the whole catalogue. But knowing by experience that every manuscript very often contains several treatises written by different authors, and that only the first of the series is marked on the outer sheet, in turning over the leaves I discovered Clement's

The Codex contains the following documents:

1. Fol. 1–32. Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments, of John Chrysostom.[1]

Epistles, and, last of all, the Διδαχή. These are the only details of the discovery."

Bishop Lightfoot (S. Clement of Rome, Appendix, London, 1877, p. 225) says:

"It is strange that this discovery should not have been made before. The library of the Most Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople is attached to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in that city, and therefore has something of a public character. It has, moreover, been examined more than once by learned men from Western Europe. A catalogue of its MSS., compiled in 1845 by Bethmann, appeared in Pertz *Archiv der Gesellsch. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, IX., p. 645 sq.; but it does not mention this volume (see *Patr. Apost. Op.* I. i., p. xii, Gebh. u. Harn., ed. 2). Some years later, in 1856, M. Guigniant read a report of the contents of this library before the French Academy of Inscriptions, which is published in the *Journal Général de l'Instruction Publique*, 1856, xxv., p. 419; and again this MS. is unnoticed. M. Guigniant seems to have attended chiefly to classical literature, and to have made only the most superficial examination of the Christian writings in this collection; for he says, somewhat contemptuously, that these MSS. 'unfortunately comprise little besides Homilies, Prayers, Theological and Controversial Treatises, written at times not very remote from our own,' with more to the same effect (as quoted in the *Academy*, May 6, 1876). Again, two years later, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, the Librarian of the Bodleian, visited this library and wrote a report of his visit (*Report to H. M. Government on the Greek MSS. in the Libraries of the Levant*, pp. 32, 75, 1858), but he too passes over this volume in silence. A serious illness during his stay at Constantinople prevented him from thor-
examining the libraries there."

so the title. The document actually embraces only the Old Testament.—*Bryenn.*

2. Fol. 33–51 b. Epistle of Barnabas.[1]

3. Fol. 51 b–76 a. Epistles I. and II. of Clement of Rome.

4. Fol. 76 a. Names of Old Testament books.

5. Fol. 76 a–80. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.

6. Fol. 81–82 a. Epistle of Mary of Cassobelæ (*Κασσοβόλων*) to Ignatius.

7. Fol. 82 a–120 a. Twelve Epistles of Ignatius, as follows: (1) To Mary; (2) To the Trallians; (3) To the Magnesians; (4) To those at Tarsus; (5) To the Philippians; (6) To the Philadelphians; (7) To the Smyrnæans; (8) To Polycarp; (9) To the Antiochians; (10) To Hero; (11) To the Ephesians; (12) To the Romans.

8. Fol. 120 a. Signature of the Scribe.

9. Fol. 120 a, b. Account of the genealogy of Joseph.

We are now concerned with the brief document which occupies five leaves (76 a–80) of the Codex—the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*

[1] In a foot-note, Bryenn. expresses his purpose of editing this epistle, the Greek text of which is here complete, together with those of Ignatius (see below). This he has not done, but has furnished material from the Cod. to Hilgenfeld for his edition of Barnab[illegible]7); the texts of Gebh. and Harn. (1878) and Funk (1881) also [illegible] account of the new Cod.

§ 2. The Integrity of the Text.

There is no reason to doubt that the Jerusalem Codex gives us, on the whole, a true copy of the *Teaching*. The substantial agreement between the *Teaching* itself and its text as reproduced in documents which used it as literary material points in this direction. Still more, the indications of priority which appear in the *Teaching*, at those points where these other documents vary from it in detail, are evidences that the *Teaching*, as we possess it, is essentially the same with the original text. This of course does not exclude the possibility of such errors as naturally creep into often copied MSS., but is sufficient to give us confidence in the general trustworthiness of the Codex as we have it.[1]

But the question whether we possess the *Teaching* in its original form involves more than this. We must ask whether all the chapters, as we now have them, formed integral parts of the original treatise, or whether there are indications that the present treatise has re-

[1] On Hilgenfeld's theory of Montanistic interpolations, see below. —Notwithstanding what is said above, we can hardly use the Teaching to support particular readings of the N. T. text (*e.g.*, the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, or ἀφίεμεν for ἀφήκαμεν in the same), because we cannot be certain that it has not been amended to agree with some current N. T. text.

sulted from the union or incorporation of earlier and independent elements.[1] This is not so easy to determine. It is obvious that before the close of the fourth century the entire *Teaching* was current, for *Apost. Const.* VII. follows the *Teaching* throughout,[2] and thus proves that the text which lay before its author covered the same ground with that which we possess.[3] Even more important is the evidence that Barnabas knew the latter part of the treatise as well as the former, citing, as he does, from Ch. XVI.[4]

If, then, the elements of our *Teaching* once existed in separate literary forms, they were combined, and our treatise produced, before the Epistle of Barnabas was written.[5] We must, therefore, consider whether there is reason for the theory in this form.

The fact that Athanasius (Ep. Fest. 39) speaks of the *Teaching* as appointed for catechumens, and that the author of the *Teaching* prescribes (Chap. VII. *ad init.*) that candidates for baptism shall hear the requirements of Chaps. I.–VI., affords no ground for the hypothesis

[1] Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extra Can.*, etc., Fascic. IV., ed. II., Leipz. 1884, p. 89, etc.; *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 76 sq.), holds Chaps. I.–VI. to be earlier than the rest, and to have circulated independently of the later chapters; cf. Petersen (*Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, Flensburg, 1884).

[2] See § 3, p. xlviii sq.

[3] Cf. Harnack, Proleg., p. 172.

[4] See § 3, p. xxxiii.

[5] So Petersen, see above.

that the original *Teaching* included only Chaps. I.–VI., and that VII.–XVI. were a subsequent addition.[1] Nor can such a ground be discovered in the longer title, on the theory that this title is applicable only to the first six chapters. For (*a*) the *Teaching* might be recommended to catechumens, even if it were not in all its parts applicable to them, and (*b*) the προσερχομένοις of Athanasius may include those who had already been admitted to full church membership. The direction to repeat the commands of Chaps. I.–VI. shows that the author believed himself to be introducing in those chapters no new thing, but merely setting down what apostolic teaching required—not at all that the earlier chapters had already been current in any such literary form. And, as to the title, the author evidently had in view Gentile readers as actual or possible Christians, and desired to have the whole treatise come to them with apostolic authority, since he understood himself to be, in all that he wrote, transmitting true apostolic doctrine.[2] The longer

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[1] Cf. Hilgenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 94, and *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 78, etc. The instruction given to catechumens and to believers, and needed by them, does not and doubtless did not differ in the degree that Hilg. supposes.

[2] Zahn (*Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, July 11, 1884) makes "To the nations" a special title of Chaps. I.–VI., but holds to the integrity of the treatise.

title is in all probability the earlier, and the shorter abbreviated from it.[1] On the other hand, Hilgenfeld's suggestion in regard to l. 35 ("Now the second commandment of the teaching") has some weight.[2] After affirming that Chap. I. contains an expansion of both the commandments[3] with which the treatise opens, he proposes to consider the words "a second commandment" (l. 35) as used by the author to introduce matter which he found ready to his hand. But, in fact, these words refer back to l. 9, "Now of these words the teaching is this;" what then follows, to the end of Chap. I., is one set of injunctions; Chap. II. begins with another set, —"a second commandment of the Teaching."

Hilgenfeld thinks also[4] that the presence of hints at ecclesiastical forms and communal life (l. 78, 108, etc.), in the earlier chapters, indicates that these chapters were once independent. It need not, however, even if the passages meant what Hilgenfeld thinks, point to anything more than a lack of absolutely logical strictness in the disposition of the material. But a close examination shows that these passages do not prescribe ecclesiastical

[1] Harnack, *Prolegom.*, § 2. Hilg. holds the contrary (cf. particularly *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 78).

[2] *Zeitschr.*, 1885, I., p. 82.

[3] But see Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.*, p. 289, n. 2.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 82 sq.

forms, but only expound the duty of the *individual* Christian in certain relations with the Christian community (cf. § 6, p. lxxxii).

While, however, there is no reason to doubt that we have the *Teaching* substantially as it was first written, there are some tokens of the existence of various later recensions of its text,—or possibly, various incorporations of the oral teaching which lies beneath that text (see § 5), in the shape of portions and fragments which have come down to us through various channels.

Such a token is the lack of acquaintance with Chaps. VII. sq., on the part of the author of the *Canons*. It is very natural that the early chapters, which the author of the *Teaching* himself designates as required in pre-baptismal instruction, should actually, through their use in this way, have become detached from their original connection, and been circulated by themselves.

There are other proofs, tending to establish the existence, not only of partial editions, but of variant texts.[1]

A tract of the third century, *De Aleatoribus*, falsely ascribed to Cyprian, contains the following:

"Et in doctrinis apostolorum: Si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec

[1] Cf. Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.*, p. 284. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1884, III., p. 370; 1885, I., p. 76.

pœnitentiam agat, et non recipiatur, ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra."[1]

This is parallel with *Teaching*, l. 270 sq., 285 sq., cf. 108 sq. The form of expression is, however, quite different. But the definite mode of citation points to a text in which these words stood as the Pseudo-Cyprian gives them.

Rufinus (d. 410), while following in the main Athanasius (Ep. Fest. 39) names a book "qui appellatur Duæ Viæ vel Judicium secundum Petrum."[2] This book is a "liber ecclesiasticus," in the same category with the Old Testament Apocrypha and the *Pastor* of Hermas. The "*Duæ Viæ*" points to a work in one important respect like our *Teaching;* the alternate title, "*Judicium Secundum Petrum*," makes it difficult to identify that work with our *Teaching*.[3]

But the most interesting of all these indications of variant texts is the fragment of an old Latin version of the *Teaching*, brought to light by Oscar von Geb-

[1] Cypr. Op., ed. Paris, 1726, *Opusc. vulg. adscr. S. Cypr.*, col. xx.; ed. Migne, 830. [2] *Symb. apost.*, 38; ed. Migne, col. 374.

[3] For attempts to explain this second title, see Krawutzcky, *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1882, III., p. 417; Harnack, *Prolog.*, p. 23. But cf. Hilgenf., *N. T. extra Can.*, Fasc. IV., ed. 2, 1884, pp. 92 sq., 110.—It may be here noticed that Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 1, ed. Migne, II., 609) names among the works falsely attributed to Peter, a "*Petri Judicium.*"

hardt (in Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, II., pp. 275 sq.). From Gebhardt's account it seems that Martin Kropff's *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* (Vindob., 1747), p. 18, contains the following statement:

"Eodem (sc. XII.) sæculo videntur Mellicii extitisse codices sequentes: 1. Membranaceus in 4to. Q. 52, quo lectionarium antiquissima manu perscriptum, ac ex S.S. P.P. homiliis excerptum continetur. In fine habetur exhortatio S. Bonifacii Episcopi de Abrenuntiatione in baptismate. Incipit: Audite fratres, et adtentius cogitetis, etc. Ibid. pag. ultima habetur Doctrina Apostolorum, sed manca. Inc. Viæ duæ sunt in sæculo, vitæ et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum, etc. Manu sæculi minimum decimi."

Unfortunately, MS. Q. 52 (now catalogued as R. 52) has disappeared from the library at Melk, but Gebhardt's persistent search resulted in the discovery of a printed copy of the desired fragment, in immediate connection with the sermon of Boniface, above referred to, as published by Bernhard Pez, librarian at Melk early in the eighteenth century. Pez printed the sermon in his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, Tom. IV., Pars. 2, col. 3 sq., and followed it (col. 5 sq.) with this:

"*Tum in Codice post perbrevia quædam S. Augustini dicta comparet* Doctrina Apostolorum, *eadem, qua Sermo S. Bonifacii, manu exarata, quæ sic habet.*

"Doctrina Apostolorum.

"Viæ duæ sunt in seculo, vitæ et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum.

In his constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus æquitatis, alter iniquitatis.

Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via ergo vitæ hæc est: Primò diliges Deum æternum, qui te fecit. Secundò proximum tuum, ùt te ipsum. Omne autem, quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris.

Interpretatio autem horum verborum hæc est: non mœchaberis, non homicidium facies, non falsum testimonium dices, non puerum violaveris, non fornicaveris . . . non medicamenta mala facies: non occides filium in abortum, nec natum succides. Non concupisces quidquam de re proximi tui. Non perjurabis. Non malè loqueris. Non eris memor malorum factorum. Non eris duplex in consilium dandum, neque bilinguis: tendiculum enim mortis est lingua.- Non erit verbum tuum vacuum nec mendax. Non eris cupidus nec avarus, nec rapax, nec adulator nec . . .

Cætera in Codice desiderantur."

This version points to an original text strikingly like that which we possess, but with remarkable variations:

Fragment, l. 1. *Seculo* inserted.

Frag., l. 2. *Lucis et tenebrarum* inserted (cf. Barnab.).

Frag., l. 3, 4. Inserted (cf. Barnab.).

Frag., l. 12. After *hæc est* there is a leap to *Teaching* II. (l. 36), (cf. *Canons*) and the following lines of the Teaching are reproduced as far as l. 45 *ad fin.*, but with

changes in the order. No representatives of *οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις* (l. 37) appear. They probably filled the gap in the version after *fornicaveris.* Some other points are noteworthy, particularly the *tendiculum enim mortis est lingua*, which, over against the *παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία* (*Teaching*, l. 42) reminds us of the *παγὶς γὰρ στόμα θανάτου* of Barn., XIX., 8 (cf. *παγὶς γὰρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χείλη* of the *Constitutions*).

The version thus has something from at least two of the important secondary sources of our knowledge of the Teaching, but agrees most closely with the Teaching itself. A different recension of the text, and one which already showed some of the striking peculiarities of Barnabas and the *Canons*, seems to underlie this version. The presence of peculiarities marking these works and distinguishing them from each other, is adverse to the view that this recension lay before the authors of them. It may have been written by a copyist familiar with them all.[1]

There is nothing to indicate that any one of these recensions antedates our *Teaching*; on the contrary, such

[1] Inasmuch, however, as it covers the beginning of the Teaching, it opposes Hilgenfeld's argument (*Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.*, 1884, III, p. 370) that the variant text indicated by Pseud.-Cypr. (see above) is evidence that the Teaching is not a unit, but consists of two treatises combined—Chaps. i.-vi. and vii.-xvi.

evidence as is at our disposal strongly favors the priority of the latter.

Least of all is there in the preceding anything to support Hilgenfeld's view[1] that in our present text there are Montanistic interpolations.[2]

§ 3. History of the *Teaching* in the Ancient Church.

Traces of the *Teaching* appear in the ancient church in three distinct forms. We have (1) citations from it, or direct references to its contents; (2) mention by its title; (3) unacknowledged and extensive use of its materials (incorporation) in later documents. We will consider these in order.

1. Among the earliest references to its contents may perhaps be classed a passage from a writing ascribed to a father of the Western Church,—(Irenæus,—before A.D. 200).[3] There is some uncertainty attaching to this testimony, but the case is as follows:

[1] *Nov. Test. extra Can.*, Fasc. IV., ed. II., 1884, p. 94; *Zeitschr.*, 1885, I., *pass.*

[2] The whole theory of Montanistic expressions in the *Teaching* lacks a foundation. See § 10, p. xciii sq.

[3] It is still doubtful whether Irenæus was really the author of the fragment—cf. Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.*, p. 280. From the author's attitude toward the Ep. to the Hebrews (he treats it as Pauline) Zahn thinks he may have been an Alexandrine. His acquaintance with the *Teaching* is then most likely (cf. § 10, p. xcix).

Iren. Fragm. xxxvi.,[1] says: "They who have followed the second constitutions of the Apostles know that the Lord instituted a new offering in the New Testament, according to the word of Malachi the prophet: 'Wherefore from the rising of the sun, even to its setting, my name shall be glorified among the nations, and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure sacrifice'"[2] (cf. *Teaching*, Chap. xiv.).

Harvey (Tom. I., p. clxvii) thinks the fragment may belong to the exposition of the *Apostolical Preaching*[3] (which Irenæus dedicated to Marcianus)—"a term," he adds, "frequently applied to the early symbol of faith; such a relic would have been of rare value if it had descended to us." And again (Tom. II., p. 500 n.): "It has been conjectured, Introd., clxvii. 2, that this extract is taken from the treatise *de Prædicatione Apostolica*,

[1] Ed. Harvey; ii., ed. Pfaff.

[2] Οἱ ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολουθηκότες ἴσασι, τὸν Κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ καθεστηκέναι, κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου τοῦ προφήτου· Διότι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ ἕως δυσμῶν τὸ ὄνομά μου δεδόξασται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσάγεται τῷ ὀνόματί μοι καὶ θυσία καθαρά (*Sancti Irenæi Episc. Lugd. Libr. quinque adv. Hær.*, etc., ed. W. Wigan Harvey, S.T.B., Cantabr., 1857, Tom. II., p. 500).

[3] καὶ ἄλλος ὢν ἀνατέθεικεν ἀδελφῷ Μαρκιανῷ τοὔνομα, εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος—(Euseb. H. E., v., 20)—Scripsit . . . ad Martianum fratrem de Apostolica prædicatione (Jerome, *De vir. ill.* xxxv, ed. Migne, II., col. 649).

in all probability a catechetical, though perhaps not formal, exposition of the primitive Creed." In any case, the fragment cited is suggestive of an acquaintance with the substance of at least a part of the *Teaching*.

Returning to the East, we find a witness of the first importance in Clement of Alexandria. In *Strom.*, I., 20, 100 (written probably between A.D. 201 and 203—see Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.*, p. 167 sq.) we find almost the precise language—the variations are unimportant—of the *Teaching* (l. 62 sq.):

"This one is called a thief by the Scripture. At least, it saith, Son, be not a liar; for lying leadeth to theft." [1]

[1] The text, with preceding context, is as follows (Migne, Clem., I., col. 817): *Ἔμπαλιν οὖν ἀδικεῖ ὁ σφετερισάμενος τὰ βαρβάρων, καὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἀυχῶν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν αὔξων, καὶ ψευδόμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς Γραφῆς εἴρηται. Φησὶ γοῦν· "Υἱέ, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ τὸ ψεῦσμα πρὸς τὴν κλοπήν."*

An attempt has been made to show that *γραφὴ* here refers, not to the following citation, but to John x., 8, which Clement had previously quoted, and that *φησὶ γοῦν* means "Therefore it is said," the cited words being thus given without the name of any author or book from which they come. (Prof. J. C. Long, *National Baptist*, April 24, 1884, and *Baptist Quarterly Review*, July-September, 1884, pp. 376, 377. Cf. also J. Rendell Harris, *Journ. of Christ. Philos.*, April, 1884, p. 375, n. 4.) This attempt suggests the following remarks: (1) The only reference in the *Stromata* to John x. 8 is i. 17, three chapters earlier. Nothing indicates a connection between that passage and the one now under consideration. (2) For Clement's use of *φησὶ* in the meaning "it is said," Dr. Long refers (*Bapt. Quarterly*,

In another treatise (*De Divite Servando*, c. 29—written between A.D. 203 and 216, perhaps late in this period (see Zahn, *Supplement. Clement*, pp. 174, 176),—Clement appears to make use of *Teaching*, l. 169 (Chap. IX.): "He who hath poured out the wine, the blood of the vine of David."[1]

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p. 377 n.) to "Vol. I., cols. 423, 429, 452, 489—and a hundred other places." The edition referred to appears to be Migne's. In that edition col. 423 contains no illustration of the point. It has φησί, but with ἡ γραφή as expressed subject, in the previous sentence. 423 is perhaps a printer's error for 428, where we read: "Ἐν οἴνῳ δὲ" φησὶ "μὴ ἀνδρίζου" (Ecclesiastic. xxxi., 30—Tisch., xxxiv., 35).—Col. 429 gives: "ὀργὴ δὲ," φησὶ, "μεγάλη, γυνὴ μέθυσος," etc. (Eccl. xxvi., 11—Tisch., 8).—Col. 452 has φησὶ with a citation from Mt. xv., 18.—Col. 489 has it with a citation from Eccl. xxxix. 17, 18, 19 (Tisch., 13).—It will appear that Dr. Long's passages are not well chosen, for all the citations are from books which were for Clement undoubtedly Scripture (see for Ecclesiasticus, col. 489: Λέγει γοῦν ἡ γραφή, with a citation from Eccl. xxxix. 31, 32—Tisch., 26, 27). (3) It would be of interest to know how many times φησὶ is used without an expressed subject by Clement or by the *Apost. Const.*, when the citation is not from a book regarded as Scripture. (4) Is φησὶ with no expressed subject ever used by Clement or the *Const.*, with reference to anything else than Scripture, when ἡ γραφή occurs in the previous clause? (5) See also *Strom.* ii., 9 (ed. Migne, Clem. I., 980), cited by Harris (*Journ. Christ. Phil.*, April, 1884, p. 376, n.), where the *Shepherd* is referred to in support of a certain position, and the next sentence cites the passage with φησὶ γοῦν.

On all grounds, therefore, but particularly the unlikelihood that the distant reference to John x, 8 is here resumed, we conclude that there is no reason to doubt that Clement quotes as Scripture words found in the *Teaching*.

[1] οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβὶδ ἐκχέας.

Again, in a fragment, Clement expresses himself as follows (*Fragm. ex. Nicetæ Catena in Matthæum*—v., 42—ed. Migne, Clem. II., 744): "We must do alms, but with judgment, and to the worthy, that we may find recompense from the Highest. Woe to those who have, and in hypocrisy take, or, when able to help themselves, even desire to take from others! for he who hath and through hypocrisy or idleness taketh shall be condemned"[1] (cf. *Teaching*, l. 22–34).

Again, *Pæd.* III., 12 (ed. Migne, I., 668), Clement says: "We have the Decalogue given through Moses . . . : Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not be idolatrous; thou shalt not corrupt boys; honour thy father and thy mother."[2] The παιδοφθορήσεις suggests *Teaching*, l. 36. It is true, Barn., XIX., 4,

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[1] Ποιητέον ἐλεημοσύνας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως, καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις, ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἀνταπόδομα παρὰ τοῦ Ὑψίστου. Οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι, καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων βουλομένοις! ὁ γὰρ ἔχων καὶ δι' ὑπόκρισιν ἢ ἀργίαν λαμβάνων κατακριθήσεται.

[2] (93) . . . Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ Δεκάλογος ἡ διὰ Μοϋσέως, ἁπλῷ καὶ μονογενεῖ αἰνιττομένη στοιχείῳ (94), προσηγορίαν σωτήριων ἁμαρτιῶν περιγράφουσα· "Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· Οὐκ εἰδωλολατρήσεις· Οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις (95)· Οὐ κλέψεις· Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· Τιμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου (96)." καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις. Ταῦτα ἡμῖν παραφυλακτέον, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κατὰ τὰς ἀναγνώσεις τῶν Βιβλίων παραγγέλλεται.—The last sentence shows how little pains Clement took to distinguish sharply between what we term canonical Scripture, and other revered Christian writings (cf. above, p. xxv, n. 1).

here agrees with the *Teaching*, and Clement differs from both by inserting "thou shalt not be idolatrous." We cannot therefore be sure that he does not owe the παιδοφθ. to Barnabas.

Harnack, *Proleg.*, p. 16, n. 26, alludes also to *Strom.*, V., 5, 31: πάλιν αὖ δύο ὁδοὺς ὑποτιθεμένου τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις ἅπασι. This may have some force in connection with the others.

Pseud. Clem. Epist. *de virginit.*, I., 11, II., 6, suggest the *Teaching*, but do not show conclusive evidence of an acquaintance with it.[1]

Athanasius (on Matt. vii. 15) may be drawing from the *Teaching*, when he gives directions for testing and dealing with false prophets, adding: "From their works must thou prove the Christ-traffickers."[2]

Perhaps Johannes Climacus[3] (Abbot of the Monastery at Mt. Sinai, end of sixth century) had the language of the *Teaching* in mind, when he said: "It is the part of

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[1] Cf. Migne, *Pères Apost.*, I., col. 404, "Omnis quippe otiosus, ut sine labore, ita sine utilitate est" (cf. *Teaching*, l. 250); col. 432, "et in omnibus a malo abhorrentes, ne demus sanctum canibus" (cf. *Teaching*, l. 180 sq.), etc.

[2] τοὺς χριστεμπόρους—see Migne, Athan. III., cols. 1380, 1381. Cf. *Teaching*, l. 225 sq., 251 sq.—This is significant only because Athanasius lived at Alexandria and knew the *Teaching*. The word occurs elsewhere in the fourth century.

[3] Bryenn., p. 7. Harn., *Prol.*, p. 19, n.

pious men to give to him that asketh, but of the more pious to give even to him that doth not ask, and from him that taketh to ask not back, however able they are,"[1] etc.

After the sixth century we find no citation from the *Teaching*.

2. The first to mention the *Teaching* by its title is Eusebius (H. E., iii., 25). Eusebius there gives a list of New Testament books, naming first those accepted by the church at large (*ὁμολογούμενα*), then those recognized by many, but yet not without opposition (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*), and as a third division, which is, in one aspect of it, a subdivision of the preceding,[2] those whose claim to canonicity was too weak to be admitted at all (*νόθα*). Into the last category fall "the Acts of Paul, the writing which is called Shepherd, and the Revelation of Peter. And, in addition to these, the Epistle attributed to Barnabas and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles;[3] and besides, if it should seem best, the Apocalypse of John, which some, as I said, reject," etc.—The fact that Hermas and Barnabas are included under one

[1] *Εὐσεβων μὲν τὸ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος μὴ ἀπαιτεῖν, δυναμένους μάλιστα, κ. τ. λ.* (Migne, LXXXVIII., 1029).

[2] He ends this third list with the words: *ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη.*

[3] *Τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί.*

head with the *Teachings* is significant, as pointing unmistakably to the identity of the *Teachings* with our *Teaching*.[1]

Athanasius (*Festal Epistle*, 39, A.D. 367) also gives a list of the canonical books of the New Testament, and subjoins:

"But for the sake of greater accuracy I add . . . that there are other books also beside these, not canonized, but appointed by the fathers to be read to those just coming to us (*i.e.*, into the church) and desiring to be instructed in the doctrine of piety—Wisdom of Solomon, and Wisdom of Sirach and Esther and Judith and Tobias, and so-called Teaching of the Apostles[2] and the Shepherd."

Anastasius Sinait., Patriarch of Antioch (d. 599), wrote a treatise called *Quæstiones*. To this is appended a list of the books of Scripture, which, among twenty-five apocryphal writings gives the following: Apocalypse of Peter, Periodoi[3] and Teachings of the Apostles, Epistle of Barnabas, Acts of Paul. Since Euseb. (*l. c.*)

[1] Cf. examination of this passage of Euseb. in Harn., *Prol.*, 4 sq. Bryenn. (p. κγ') and Harn. (*Prol.*, 24, n.) call attention to Διδταξις and Διατάξεις, both used by Epiphanius for Apost. Const.

[2] καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων. See Migne, Athan., II., col. 1437 *ad fin.* For date, *id. ib.* col. 1435, n.

[3] Περίοδοι. See Migne, I., col. 516.

gives "Acts of Andrew and John and of the other Apostles" in his third class (spurious books), it appears possible that the author of this catalogue has combined the titles of two different works, because each title contained "of the Apostles."

Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 828), names among the apocryphal books of the New Testament the Periodoi (= *Itinerarium* [?]) of Peter, of John, of Thomas, the Gospel according to Thomas, the Teaching of Apostles,[1] the two Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and the Shepherd. He gives the number of στίχοι in the *Teaching* as 200. Without attempting to press this number into agreement with the 203 lines of the *Teaching* in Cod. Jerus., since the number of lines might vary indefinitely in different MSS. of the same treatise,[2] it is still evident that the 200 *stichi* of Nicephorus indicates that the treatise he names was a brief one, and its title, as well as the position given it, point to its identity with the work named by Eusebius, Athanasius, and Anastasius (?), and with our *Teaching*.

Bryennios (p. κς)· cites two later authors who mention the *Teaching*, but neither of them has any personal knowledge of it:

[1] Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων. See Migne, C., col. 1060.

[2] Cf. Harris., *l. c.*, p. 368 sq.

Joannes Zonaras (c. 1120) says: "Now some say that the Teaching of the Apostles[1] is the same with the Constitutions written by Clement, which the Council called the Sixth does not permit to be read," etc.

Matthæus Blastares (c. 1335) goes even farther. He says: "Now besides the canonical books (the great Athanasius) says there are the Wisdom of Solomon, etc., and the Teaching of the holy Apostles;[2] and this the Sixth Council rejected."

After this the *Teaching* was apparently forgotten, until modern times.

3. Considerable portions of the *Teaching* have been incorporated into at least four well-known products of early Christianity; these are the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Apostolic Canons* (or *Epitome*), and the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

a. *The Teaching in Relation to Barnabas and Hermas.*

It has been earnestly disputed whether the *Teaching* has furnished material to the other two documents, or whether the resemblances are to be accounted for on the

[1] τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων (Migne, I., col. 552).

[2] τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων (Migne, I., col. 553).

theory that the other two supplied matter to the author of the *Teaching*.[1] The latter was the view first presented, and it was accepted and repeated without very careful examination. The arguments for it are slender, while a just consideration of the evidence before us results in perceiving several weighty arguments on the other side.

1. The connection between Barnabas and the *Teaching* appears in the following passages:

Barnabas, IV., 9.

Cf. *T.*, l. 295 sq. Wherefore let us *give heed in the last days: for nothing will the whole time of* our *life* and faith *profit* us, *if now in the* lawless *time*, and impending offences we *do not resist* as befitteth sons of God.

Barnabas, XVIII.

But let us pass over to another knowledge and teaching.
T., l. 3. *Two ways there are* of teaching and of authority, one of
l. 4. light and one of darkness. *But there is a great difference in the two ways.* For over one are set light-bearing angels of God, but over the other, angels of Satan. (2) And the former is Lord from eternity and to eternity, but the latter is prince of the present time of iniquity.

[1] The latter is held by Bryennios, Harnack, and Hilgenfeld. Zahn puts the *Shepherd* earlier, Barnabas later, than the *Teaching*. Funk, Wordsworth, "E. L. H." (*Guardian*, June 25, 1884), and Harris make the *Teaching* the first in time of the three.

[2] Sentences in Barnabas which are more or less closely parallel with the *Teaching* are in italics. The number of the line of the parallel in the *Teaching* is given in the margin.

XIX.

T., l. 5. *The way of* light, *then, is this:* if any one willeth to go to the appointed place, let him be zealous in his deeds. The knowledge, then, which is given to us for walking in this
l. 6. (way) is such as this: (2) *Thou shalt love* him *who made thee,* thou shalt fear him that fashioned thee, thou shalt glorify him that ransomed thee from death; thou shalt be simple in heart and rich in spirit; thou shalt not cleave to those
l. 105 sq. that walk in (the) way of death; *thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God, thou shalt hate every hypocrisy; thou shalt by no means forsake the Lord's commandments.*
l. 72 sq. (3) *Thou shalt not exalt thyself,* but shalt be humble in all
l. 46 sq. things; thou shalt not take glory to thyself. *Thou shalt not*
l. 73. *take evil counsel against thy neighbor; thou shalt not per-*
l. 36. *mit overboldness to thy soul.* (4) *Thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys.* Not from thee shall the word of God go forth
l. 84 sq. with (the) impurity of some. *Thou shalt not respect per-*
l. 69. *sons in convicting* any one *for a transgression. Thou shalt*
l. 71 sq. *be meek,* thou shalt be *gentle,* thou shalt *tremble at the*
l. 41. *words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not be revengeful*
l. 85 sq. against thy brother. (5) *Thou shalt not hesitate, whether it shall be, or not.* Thou shalt not take in vain the name
l. 7, 49. of the Lord. *Thou shalt love thy neighbor above thy life.*
l. 38. *Thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, nor* again (*what is*
l. 95 sq. *conceived shalt thou destroy. Thou shalt by no means take off thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from*
l. 39. *youth thou shalt teach* (*them*) *the fear of the Lord.* (6) *Thou shalt by no means* become one *lusting after the things of thy*
l. 45, 73 sq. *neighbor, thou shalt by no means become rapacious; nor shalt thou from thy soul cleave to* (*the*) *high, but with the lowly and righteous thou shalt consort. The events that befall thee shalt thou accept as good, knowing that without God*
l. 41 sq. *nothing occurs.* (7) *Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued, for a snare of death is the double tongue.*

Thou shalt obey rulers as an image of God in shame and
T., l. 98 sq. fear ; *thou shalt by no means lay thy hand in bitterness upon thy bondman or bondmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they perchance shall not fear the God who is over (you) both ; because he came not to call (men) according to the appear-*
l. 92 sq. *ance, but to those whom the Spirit made ready.* (8) *Thou shalt share in all things with thy* neighbor, *and shalt not say they are thine own ; for if ye are partners in that which is incorruptible, how much more in the corruptible (things)?* Thou shalt not be hasty of tongue, for (the) mouth is a
l. 135 sq. snare of death. *As much as thou canst,* for thy soul thou
l. 86 sq. shalt make purification. (9) *Be not (one who) for receiving*
l. 78 sq. *stretcheth out the hands, but forgiving draweth them in. Thou shalt love* as the apple of thine eye *every one that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord.* (10) Thou shalt remember the
l. 81 sq. day of judgment night and day, and *thou shalt seek out every day the faces of the saints,* either by word laboring, and going for the purpose of exhorting, and meditating
l. 88 sq. how to save (thy) soul by the word, or *by thy hands thou shalt work for a ransom for thy sins.* (11) *Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur ; but thou shalt know who is the good dispenser of the recompense.*
l. 107. *Thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding to it nor taking from it.* To the end thou shalt hate the evil
l. 84, 83 sq. (one). *Thou shalt judge justly.* (12) *Thou shalt not make division, but shalt make peace, bringing together those who*
l. 108 sq. *contend. Thou shalt make confession of thy sins. Thou shalt not approach for prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of* light.

XX.

l. 112 sq. *But the way of* darkness *is* crooked and *full of curse.* For it is a way of eternal death, with punishment, in which are the things which destroy their soul [*i.e.*, the soul of
l. 114 sq. men] ; *idolatry, overboldness,* haughtiness of power, *hypocrisy, duplicity, adultery, murder, robbery, arrogance,* trans-

gression, *craft*, *vice*, *self-will*, *sorcery*, *magic*, *greed*, no fear
T., l. 119 sq. of God; (2) *persecutors of* (*the*) *good*, *hating truth*, *loving falsehoods*, *not knowing* (*the*) *reward of righteousness*, *not cleaving to* (*that which is*) *good*, (*and*) *not to righteous judg-*
l. 122 sq. *ment*, not giving heed to widow and orphan, *on the watch not* for fear of God, *but for evil*, *far* and distant *from whom are meekness and patience*, *loving vanities*, *pursuing revenge*, *not pitying a poor* (*man*), *not laboring for one distressed*, expert in evil-speaking, *not knowing him that made them*, *murderers of children*, *destroyers of* (*the*) *image of God*, *turning away from the needy*, *oppressing the afflicted*, *advocates of* (*the*) *rich*, *lawless judges of* (*the*) *poor*, *universal sinners*.

It is a presumptive argument for the priority of the Teaching to Barnabas that the former is briefer, more uniform in style, more orderly in arrangement, more sober in its requirements. These are all marks of originality, not to be overcome except by strong counter-argument.

Further, it would be strange if a writer of such force as the author of the *Teaching* evidently is should make himself so slavishly dependent upon Barnabas for a large and important part of his treatise, and then entitle it, *Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations*. Not a reproduction of the words of any one man, however revered, but a publication of what he believed to be a body of common apostolic teaching, is what we should expect of such a writer.

Again, the language with which Barnabas introduces

the part of the Epistle with which we are now concerned, "Let us pass over to another knowledge and teaching," indicates strongly that the author is making conscious use of new material—and what can that be other than our *Teaching*?[1]

It is precisely in accordance with Barnabas' habit, to take a sentence from some other work, and to expand or modify it. He so treats the Scripture which he abundantly uses. It is indeed a characteristic of Barnabas to construct his own paragraphs on the basis of foreign matter, as well as to deal with that matter in exactly this way.

In view of these considerations a general remark may be added, resuming and emphasizing one already made: It is hardly conceivable that so energetic and forcible a writer as the author of the *Teaching* should have culled his materials from the confused, ill-ordered mass of Barnabas, and subjected himself to the tedious process of extracting and re-arranging. The labor would have been one of a painfully anxious and even pedantic scholarship, and the result would almost necessarily have been labored and ill-adjusted. To bring disorder out of order,

[1] The arguments in favor of the integrity of Barnabas seem entirely sufficient. Cf. Zahn, *Supplem. Clem.*, p. 314; E. L. H., *Guardian*, June 25, 1884, etc.

however, is comparatively easy. The mind that is simply employing old materials is less active, less keenly awake to the fitness of connection, much more likely to arrange thoughts carelessly, and to produce a mass of precepts, instead of a logically constructed homily.

But the extreme unlikelihood that the *Teaching* used Barnabas, and not Barnabas the *Teaching*, is yet more evident from an examination of some of the sentences, common to both, with especial reference to the order and the connection in which each presents them.[1]

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[1] See Zahn, *Supplem. Clem.*, p. 311 sq. ;—E. L. H., *Guardian*, June 25, 1884 ;—Funk, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, III., 1884, p. 399 sq. ;—Petersen, *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, Flensburg, 1884, p. 12.—Cf. Holtzmann, *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 158 sq. Harnack, *Prolog.*, p. 84 sq., gives five cases which he thinks point the other way. He holds that (1) Barnabas, XIX., 5 ("Thou shalt love thy neighbor above thy life"), is weakened in *Teaching*, l. 49. But Barnabas, rather, exaggerates *T.*, l. 7, with only a reminiscence of *T.*, l. 49. (2) B., XIX., 11 ("To the end thou shalt hate the evil one"), is corrected in *T.*, 47, 48. But there is no sufficient reason to connect these two at all. (3) B., XIX., 9, 10 ("Thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye every one that speaketh to thee the word of the Lord"), is worked over and altered in *T.*, 78 sq., which shows a great advance over B. in care for organizing the churches. But it is quite as likely that B[illegible]as abbreviated and sentimentalized (or weakened?—perhaps "honor him as the Lord" seemed venturesome) what he found in *Teaching*. The same meaning may be contained in both expressions. (4) B., XIX., 12 ("Thou shalt make confession of thy sins"), is amplified by "in the church," *T.*, 108. But confession in the church is more suited to primitive than to a developed Christianity. Besides, cf.

The following illustrations will suffice: 1. Barnabas, XIX., 2, begins, "Thou shalt love him that made thee" (*Teaching*, l. 6), but not until v. 5 does he speak of loving one's neighbor (*T.*, l. 7). One writing at first hand would hardly have separated these familiar injunctions.

2. B., XIX., 2, continues: "Thou shalt fear him that fashioned thee, thou shalt glorify him that ransomed thee from death." It is incomprehensible that *T.*, l. 6, should have omitted this specifically Christian clause, if it drew from a source containing it.

3. Add to these particulars the obvious presumption that that document is the earlier which quotes the more accurately from a still earlier source. B., XIX., 2, by

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Const., VII., 14. (5) B., XIX., 7, has ἦλθεν, *T.* 101 has there-for ἔρχεται. But if this has any significance, it points to priority of *Teaching*. The present tense is here more suitable; the change perhaps resulted from a misunderstanding on B.'s part.

Prolog., p. 287, 288, Harnack adds the following: (6) B., IV., 9, contains a parallel with words of *T.*, XVI., the only passage (l. 296 sq.) which cannot be traced back to the N. T. We should then have to suppose, if Barn. used *Teaching*, that he singled out this one original sentence, to the neglect of the more familiar which surround it. But granting the premises, it was its very originality that made it memorable. (7) The νῦν of B., IV., 9 (lacking in *T.*, l. 297), shows the expectation of an *immediate* end; *Teaching* must be later, when such expectations had died out. But in fact the "now" of Barn. only shows that he wrote in times of persecution. We are not able to find in any or all of these passages a support for Harnack's theory of B.'s priority.

reason of its additions, resembles Matt. xxii. 37 sq. far less than *T.*, l. 5, does.

4. B., XIX., 2, says again, "Thou shalt hate everything that is not pleasing to God; thou shalt hate every hypocrisy." *T.*, l. 105, has the reverse order, which is more natural, and likely to be original.

5. B., XIX., 2, ends, "Thou shalt not forsake (the) commandments of the Lord;" v. 3 continues, "Thou shalt not exalt thyself." *T.*, l. 106 sq., reads, "Thou shalt by no means forsake the Lord's commandments, but shalt guard what thou hast received," etc. This additional clause is found, isolated, and hardly intelligible, in B., XIX., 11.

6. B., XIX., 3, gives, "Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be humble in all things; thou shalt not take glory to thyself. *Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor;* thou shalt not permit overboldness to thy soul." The words in italics have no proper connection where they are. They interrupt the logical order of thought, which is resumed after them. This cannot have been their original position. They appear in *T.*, not in this position (see *T.*, l. 72 sq.), but in a natural and suitable connection (l. 44–47).

7. B., XIX., 5, gives, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor above thy life." Apart from the extravagance of

this, it is to be noted that it combines elements of *T.*, l. 7 and l. 49. It is inconceivable that *T.* should have divided and distributed the elements of B., so as to produce these phenomena.

8. B., XIX., 7, gives, "Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued; for a snare of death is the double tongue." So *T.*, l. 41 sq. But B. comes back to the same idea, v. 8, and says, "Thou shalt not be free of speech, for (the) mouth is a snare of death." This is not only repetition, but also intensification. The context is also inappropriate in B. in both cases. The reverse is true in *T.*

Instances can be multiplied by any one who takes the pains to go through the whole amount of matter common to the two works. The conclusion seems irresistible that Barnabas has used the *Teaching*.

Indeed, it is hardly credible that one who reads only the first ten lines of the extract from Barnabas here printed, and then ten lines of the *Teaching*, should not be at once prepared to say that the *Teaching* is the original, and Barnabas the imitator.

The question has been raised, whether any definite purpose actuated the author of Barnabas in this disarrangement of the precepts of the *Teaching*.

It seems most likely that he depended largely upon

his recollection of the words of the *Teaching*, and that the disarrangement is to a great degree due to a defective memory. One tolerably clear evidence of this may be repeated from "E. L. II." (*l. c.*):

Barnabas, XIX., 4, ends, "Thou shalt not be revengeful against they brother" (cf. *T.*, l. 41); *T.* then continues, "Thou shalt not be double-minded" (διγνώμων); B. "thou shalt not hesitate (διψυχήσεις) whether it shall be or not" (cf. *T.*, l. 85). It appears likely that B., remembering indistinctly, brought in here the sentence with διψυχήσεις, instead of that with the kindred word, διγνώμων, which actually followed, in the source from which he drew.[1]

2. The parts of Hermas which are obviously connected with the *Teaching* are as follows:

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[1] The suggestion that Barnabas and the *Teaching* may have drawn from a common source (cf. Lightfoot, *Results of Recent Hist. and Topogr. Research*, etc., Church Congress, Carlisle, Sept.-Oct., 1884; Holtzmann, in *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, I., 1885)—or that B. may have used another recension of the *Teaching*, although on some accounts attractive, is hardly tenable. The *Teaching* makes the impression of originality, not alone relatively to Barnabas, but also in relation to other post apostolic writings. And it may be questioned whether, in the short time that must have elapsed between the *Teaching* and Barnabas, any such variant recension of the *Teaching* could have arisen as would explain the peculiarities of Barnabas.—Massebieau (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.*, Sept.-Oct., 1884) is to be added to those who make B. depend on *T.*

Hermas, Commandment II., 4–6 (ed. Funk).

Teaching, 1. 22–31. Do good, and from thy labors, which God giveth thee, to all needy ones give in simplicity, not hesitating to whom thou shouldst give and to whom thou shouldst not give. Give to all; for to all God willeth that there be given of his own gifts. Those, then, that receive shall give a reckoning to God, why they received, and for what; for those that receive in distress shall not be condemned, but those who in hypocrisy receive shall pay a penalty. He then that giveth is blameless; for as he received from the Lord the ministry to fulfil, in simplicity he fulfilled it, making no distinction to whom he should give or not give.

Hermas, Commandment, VIII., 3–5 (ed. Funk).

Teaching, V. How many, I said, Master, are the wickednesses from which we must abstain? Listen, said he; from adultery and fornication, from lawless drunkenness, from evil luxuriousness, from many meats and extravagance of wealth and boasting and haughtiness and arrogance and falsehood and evil-speaking and hypocrisy, revengefulness and every blasphemy. These deeds are most evil of all in the life of men. From these deeds, then, the servant of God must abstain. For he who abstaineth not from these, cannot live unto God. Hear now also the things that attend these. Are there, then, Master, said I, other evil deeds? Yea, truly, said he, many there are from which the servant of God must refrain: theft, lying, fraud, false-witness, covetousness, evil desire, deceit, vain glory, pretence, and whatever things are like these.

In addition to these, there is a certain agreement in subject matter—not in form—between Hermas, *Commandment* XI., and *Teaching*, Chap. XI.—concerning the treatment of false prophets.

The two treatises are, however, most distinctly related

in the passages first cited,—Herm. II., 4–6 = *Teaching* I., l. 22–31. And while it is perhaps not possible to say that either passage deserves priority on purely internal grounds, it is certainly in favor of the originality of the *Teaching* that its requirement is expressed so much more compactly and pungently.[1] A comparison of the two writings in other parts does not give us data for any positive conclusion.[2] We come therefore, with only a

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[1] It is objected (Harnack, p. 7, and *Proleg.*, p. 87) that Hermas is here more self-consistent in his demand of indiscriminate giving, and that *Teaching*, l. 32 sq., is at variance with l. 22 sq. This indicates, he thinks, a modification of the language of Hermas by the author of the *Teaching*. But l. 32 sq. does not really contradict the foregoing. It is only a caution, and a limitation of the foregoing, such as we should expect from a vigorous writer and thinker like the author of the *Teaching*. He certainly shows, throughout the treatise, independence and force enough to warrant us in saying that even if Hermas had been in his hands, he would have refrained from using him, in case of a disagreement in his views, or would have so modified what he borrowed as to remove the contradiction which Harnack finds in this chapter. On the other hand, the weaker, more sentimental, mind of Hermas would be apt to imagine a contradiction in the *Teaching* where none existed, and would be likely to remove it, and to express his own restiveness under it, by a repetition, for emphasis' sake, of the indiscriminateness with which one should give.

[2] Zahn (*Suppl. Clem.*, p. 316 sq.) believes such a datum to be found in Herm., *Simil.*, V., 1, 1, compared with *Teaching* VIII. [l. 151 sq.]. The former condemns all conventionally observed fasting; the latter appoints Wednesday and Friday as fast-days. Hermas could not have used the *Teaching* (involving, as that would do, a recognition of its authority) with this plain contradiction of his own teachings in

presumption, and that in favor of the originality of the *Teaching*, to another consideration:

It being established that the *Teaching* antedates Barnabas, and agreed that Barnabas belongs to the first third of the second century, then arguments which give Hermas a date no earlier than this, involve the priority of the *Teaching* to Hermas.[1] Perhaps the strongest of such arguments, and quite a new one, consists simply in showing that Hermas quotes the Old Testament in a

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it; the *Teaching* might have used Hermas, since (*a*) Hermas is a much larger book, and the passage about fasting might have been overlooked, and (*b*) the *Teaching* does not expressly condemn the view advocated by Hermas. Hermas, however, could not have quoted so distinctly and at such length from the *Teaching* (more so than from any book of the Bible), with this contradiction patent and sharp. This is Zahn's argument. The reasons, however, for thinking citation or paraphrase possible in one case and not in the other are not convincing. We should quite as easily suppose that, if the *Shepherd* existed in his time, the bright, active-minded author of the *Teaching* knew it well, and would be aware of any contradiction in views which would prevent him from treating Hermas as an authority, as the converse. A few pages more or less, cannot make such a difference. And who shall prove to us that the citation was not from memory? In that case, familiar words from the *Teaching* might well linger in the mind of Hermas, and be used by him, regardless of a divergence in other parts of the *Teaching* from the later author's views at the time he wrote. And, further, the appointment of particular fast-days is in real, if not explicit, opposition to the view that there should be no particular fast-days. The question cannot be settled in any such way as this.

[1] Zahn dates Hermas A.D. 97–100.

version (that of Theodotion) which was not in existence until the second century.[1] Leaving other arguments out of the account, this one, if sound,—and we have seen no attempt to impeach it,—is sufficient to put Hermas so late, that the *Teaching*, being prior to Barnabas, cannot well be subsequent to Hermas.

(*b*) The *Apostolic Canons* and *Apostolic Constitutions*, VII., are largely indebted to the Teaching.[2]

The *Apostolic Canons*, a treatise whose original title was perhaps "Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles,"[3] originated probably in Egypt, in the third (?) cen-

[1] See F. J. A. Hort, *Independent*, August 14, 1884, p. (1033) 9 (in advance, from *Johns Hopkins Univ. Circular*). Dr. J. R. Harris (*J. H. Univ. Circ.*, April, 1884) having observed the connection between Herm. *Vision*, iv. 2–4 and Dan. vi. 22, Dr. Hort remarks that Hermas follows, not the LXX. of Dan. vi. 22, but Theodotion's version. This will appear by the use of parallel columns:

Herm., *Vis.*, iv. 5.	Theodot., Dan. vi. 22.	LXX. Dan. vi. 22.
Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν θηρίων ὄντα, οὗ τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν Θεγρί, [emend. Harris Σεγρί] καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ σε λυμάνῃ.	ὁ θεός μου ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ οὐκ ἐλυμάναντό με.	σέσωκέν με ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λεόντων.

[2] See in particular, Harnack, *Proleg.*, pp. 170–241. Into Harnack's very important discussions over the history of these two documents it is impossible to enter here. Harnack gives them both in a carefully edited Greek text.

[3] Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. So Harn., *Proleg.*, p.

tury. It was composed in Greek, but early translated into the Coptic dialect of Thebes, and thence into that of Memphis, as well as into Ethiopic and Arabic. It was also translated into Syriac. These facts show its popularity in the church. The different recensions vary somewhat in extent, and in details, and appear in connection with other important ecclesiastical works.

This treatise seems to have been compiled from Barnabas, the *Teaching*, and probably two or three other documents.

Book VII. of the *Apostolic Constitutions* dates from perhaps the third or fourth quarter of the fourth century, and was probably composed in Syria. Chaps. 1–32 of this book are evidently a paraphrase and enlargement of the *Teaching*, with modifications to suit the changed times.[1]

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225. Called also *Apostolic Epitome*, from the heading in the Vatican MSS. Bickell, Harn., etc, say *Apostol. Kirchenordnung.*

[1] It is possible that the author was acquainted with Barnabas, also. Harnack denies this (*Prolog.*, p. 173, 207), but the agreement of the *Const.* with Barn., against *Teaching*, in two places (Cod. I., Διδ., l. 38, γεννηθέντα, *Const.* and Barnab., γεννηθὲν—so Bryenn.; *T.*, l. 83, ποθήσεις, Const. and Barnab., ποιήσεις—see, however, Notes on these lines), seems to point in this direction. Harnack shows (*Prolog.* p. 244 sq.) that in all probability the same hand has expanded the *Teaching* into *Const.* VII., and the Διδασκαλία τῶν Ἀποστόλων into *Const.* I.–VI., and also produced the spurious Ignatian Epistles.

We give in parallel columns these two documents, in an English translation:[1]

Apostolic Canons.

Greeting, sons and daughters, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. John and Matthew and Peter and Andrew and Philip, and Simon and James and Nathaniel and Thomas and Cephas and Bartholomew and Judas of James.

Since we have assembled according to a command of our Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour, according as he appointed—before the (injunction): Ye are to have offices assigned, numbers of places reckoned, dignities of bishops, seats of presbyters, services of deacons, intelligence of readers, blamelessness of widows, and whatever be needful for founding a church, in order that, knowing a type of the heavenly things, they may keep themselves from every fault, knowing that they shall render account at the great day of the judgment for the things which they heard and did not keep—and bid us send forth the words into all the world; therefore it seemed good to us, for a reminding of

Apostol. Const., VII.

I. As the lawgiver Moses said to the Israelites, Behold *I* have set before you the way of life and the way of death, and addeth, Choose life, that thou mayest live, and the prophet Elijah saith to the people, How long will ye halt on both your legs? If the Lord is God, follow him, with reason said the Lord Jesus also, No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other; and we, of necessity, following our teacher Christ, Who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe, say that *there are two ways, one of life and one of death, and* no comparison have they with each other—for *great is the difference*—but are rather entirely sundered; and natural is the way of life, but alien is that of death, not the (death) which came according to the mind of God, but that which is of the plot of the enemy.

[1] The *Canons* after Hilgenfeld's text, the *Const.* after that of Lagarde. Parallels with the *Teaching* are indicated by italics.

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the brotherhood and a warning to each, remembering the word as the Lord revealed it according to the will of God through the Holy Spirit, to enjoin it upon you.

I. John said: My brethren, knowing that we shall render account for the things assigned to us, let us each not regard the appearance of any one, but if any think it fitting to gainsay let him gainsay.

Now it seemed good to all that John speak first.

John said: *Two ways there are, one of life and one of death, but there is a great difference between the two ways; for the way of life is this: First, thou shalt love the God who made thee*, with all thy heart, and shalt glorify him that ransomed thee from death, which is (the) first commandment. *Secondly, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, which is (the) second commandment: upon which hangeth all the law, and the prophets.

Matthew said: *All things whatsoever thou wilt not have befall thee, thou to another shalt not do.* Now of these words tell the teaching, brother Peter.

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II. *First, then, cometh the way of life;* and it is this which the law also declareth, *to love* the Lord *God*, with all the heart and with all the soul—the one and only, beside whom there is no other, *and one's neighbor as one's self. And everything thou wilt not have befall thee, this to another thou shalt not do; that is*, what thou hatest, to another thou shalt not do; *bless them that curse you, pray* for them that revile you, *love your enemies. For what thank have ye if ye love them that love you, for the nations, too, do this; but love ye them that hate you, and ye shall have no enemy;* for Thou shalt not hate, it saith, any man, not an Egyptian, not an Idumæan, for all are works of God. And shun not the persons but the thoughts of the wicked. *Abstain from the fleshly and worldly lusts. If any one give thee a blow, turn to him the other (cheek) also, not* because revenge is wrong, but because forbearance is more honorable. For David saith, If I have requited them that requited me evil. *If any one compel thee to go a mile, go with him two, and to him that will* go to law with thee and *take thy tunic, yield to him also thy cloak; and from him who taketh thy (possessions) ask* them *not back.*

Canons.	*Constitutions.*
	To him that asketh thee give, and from him that will borrow of thee shut not thy hand, for a righteous man is pitiful and lendeth; *for to all the Father willeth that there be given*—he who maketh his sun rise for bad and good, and sendeth his rain upon just and unjust. To all therefore it is right to give from one's own labors; for Honor, it says, the Lord from thy righteous labors; but one must prefer the saints.
Peter said: *Thou shalt not kill,*	2. *Thou shalt not kill*, that is, thou shalt not destroy the man (who is) like thyself, for thou dissolvest what was well made; not as if every killing were wrong, but only that of the guiltless, but that which is just is appointed for
thou shalt not commit adultery,	rulers only. *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, for thou dividest the one flesh into two; for The two shall become, it says, one flesh; for one are man and wife by nature, by consent, by union, by disposition, by life, by conduct, but they are separated in form and number. *Thou shalt not corrupt boys;* for against nature is the wickedness, arising from Sodom, which, by God-sent fire, became a waste; but accursed (is) such an one, and all the people shall say, Be it so,
thou shalt not commit fornication,	Be it so. *Thou shalt not commit*

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thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, nor what is conceived shalt thou destroy,

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fornication; for There shall not be, it saith, a fornicator among the children of Israel. *Thou shalt not steal,* for Achar, when he had stolen in Israel, at Jericho, was stoned and departed from life, and Giezei, when he had stolen and lied, inherited the leprosy of Naaman, and Judas, stealer of the (money) of the poor, betrayed the Lord of glory to the Jews, and, repenting, hanged himself, and burst open in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out, and Ananias and Sapphira his wife, when they had stolen their own (possessions) and tempted the Spirit of the Lord, forthwith at the sentence of Peter, our fellow-apostle, suffered death.

3. *Thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use sorcery;* for Sorcerers, it saith, ye shall not let live. *Thou shalt not slay thy child by abortion, nor that which is conceived shalt thou destroy;* for everything that is shaped, having received a soul from God, if it is slain shall be avenged, as unrighteously put out of the way. *Thou shalt not lust after the things of thy neighbor,* as his wife, or his servant, or his ox, or his field. *Thou shalt not forswear thyself,* for it is said, Swear not at all; but

Canons.	*Constitutions.*
	if otherwise, and if thou swearest truly, that Every one who sweareth by him shall be commended.
thou shalt not bear false witness,	*Thou shalt not bear false witness,* for he that falsely accuseth (the) needy provoketh him that made him.
thou shalt not revile,	4. *Thou shalt not revile;* for Love not, it saith, to revile, lest thou be taken away.
thou shalt not be revengeful,	*Nor shalt thou be revengeful,* for (the) ways of (the) revengeful are unto death.
thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued, for a snare of death is the double tongue.	*Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued, for a* strong *snare* to a man are his own lips, and a talkative man shall not be prospered upon the earth.
Thy speech shall not be empty nor false,	*Thy speech shall not be empty,* for for every idle word ye shall give account.
thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious,	*Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious;* for Woe, it saith, who is covetous of his neighbor with an evil covetousness!
nor a hypocrite,	5. *Thou shalt not be a hypocrite,* that thou mayest not have thy lot with them.
nor malicious, nor arrogant, nor take evil counsel against thy neighbor;	*Thou shalt not be malicious nor arrogant;* for (the) arrogant God resisteth. *Thou shalt not regard (the) person* of (the) powerful, *in judgment,* for the judgment is the Lord's.
thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt reprove, and some thou shalt pity, *and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thy life.*	*Thou shalt hate no* man. *Thou shalt reprove* thy brother and shalt not receive sin on his account, and, Reprove a wise (man) and he will

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Andrew said: *My child, flee from every evil thing, and from everything like it.*

Be not inclined to anger, for anger leadeth to murder; for a male demon is wrath. *Become not jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate; for from these things murder is begotten.*

Philip said: *Child, become not lustful, for lust leadeth to fornication,* and draweth men to herself; for there is a female demon of lust, and the one with anger, the other with pleasure, they ruin those that receive them. Now (the) way of an evil spirit is a soul's sin; and as soon as it hath a brief entrance within him, it wideneth it [the way] and leadeth that soul to all bad things, and doth not permit the man to look clearly and see the truth. Let your wrath have measure, and, after a short interval, bridle and check it, that it may not hurl you into evil act. For wrath and evil pleasure for the most part become demons, abiding in intensity. And whenever the man commits himself to them, they swell up in his soul and grow larger and lead him into unrighteous deeds and smile upon him. They rejoice at the destruction of men.

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love thee. *Flee from every bad thing and from everything like it,* for Abstain, it saith, from an unrighteous (thing) and trembling shall not come nigh thee. *Be not inclined to anger,* nor envious, *nor jealous,* nor frenzied, nor presumptuous, lest thou suffer the (fate) of Cain and of Saul and of Joab; for the first slew his brother Abel, because he was found preferred by God, and because his offering was accepted; and the next persecuted the holy David, when he had conquered Goliath the Philistine, being jealous because of the dancing-women's praise; and the other killed the two generals, Abener of Israel and Amessa of Judah.

Canons.	*Constitutions.*
Simon said: *Child, become not foul-mouthed, nor lofty-eyed, for of these things come adulteries.*	
James said: *Child, become not an omen-watcher, since it leadeth to idolatry, nor a charmer, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier, nor be willing to look upon nor hear these things, for from all these idolatries are begotten.*	6. *Become not an omen-watcher, for it leadeth to idolatry;* and divination, saith Samuel, is sin, and There shall not be divination in Jacob, nor soothsaying in Israel; *thou shalt not be a charmer, nor a purifier* of thy son, thou shalt not take omens, nor divine, *nor practise augury*, nor learn a wicked art, for all these things the law, too, forbade. *Become not lustful* after bad things, for thou shalt be led into limitless sins. *Thou shalt not be foul-mouthed*, nor a glance-thrower, nor drunken, *for from these things come fornications and idolatries. Thou shalt not become avaricious*, that thou serve not mammon instead of God. *Become not vainglorious, nor puffed up, nor high-minded, for of all these things* impostures *are begotten;* remember him who said, Lord, my heart is not haughty nor mine eyes lofty, nor have I walked amid great things, nor things too wonderful for me, but I was humble.
Nathanael said: *Child, become not a liar, since lying leads to theft, nor avaricious, nor vainglorious; for of all these things thefts are begotten.*	
Judas said: *Child, become not a murmurer, since it leadeth to blasphemy, nor self-willed, nor evil-minded;*	7. *Become not a murmurer,* remembering the punishment which those endured who murmured against Moses. *Be not self-*

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for of all these things blasphemies are begotten. But be meek, since the meek shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.
Become long-suffering,

merciful, peace-making, pure in heart from every evil, *guileless and gentle, good, and* keeping and *trembling at the words which thou hast heard; thou shalt not exalt thyself,*

nor permit over-boldness to thy soul, nor cleave with

thy soul to (the) high, but with (the) righteous and lowly thou shalt consort. The events that befall thee shalt thou accept as good, knowing that without God nothing occurs.

Thomas said: *Child, him that speaketh to thee the word of God,* and becometh to thee an author of life, and hath given thee the seal in the Lord, thou shalt love as the apple of thine eye, and *thou shalt remember* him *night and day,*

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willed nor evil-minded, nor hard-hearted, nor hot-tempered, nor mean-spirited; *for all these things lead to blasphemy. But be meek,* as Moses and David were, *since the meek shall inherit the earth.*

8. *Become long-suffering;* for such an one is great in prudence, since he of little soul is a very fool. *Become merciful;* for blessed are the merciful, because they shall obtain mercy. *Be guileless, gentle, good, trembling at the words of God. Thou shalt not exalt thyself* like the Pharisee; for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased, and that which is exalted among men is abomination *with God. Thou shalt not permit over-boldness to thy soul,* for an over-bold man shall fall into evil. *Thou shalt not consort with fools, but with* (the) wise and *righteous. The sufferings that befal thee receive equably,* and the circumstances without grief, knowing that a reward from God shall be given to thee, as to Job and Lazarus.

9. *Him that speaketh to thee the word of God thou* shalt glorify, and *shalt remember* him *day and night, and thou shalt honor him* not as author of (thy) being, but as becoming a protector of thy well-being;

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thou shalt honor him as the Lord ; for where that which pertaineth to the Lord is spoken, there is the Lord. And thou shalt seek out his face *daily* and the rest of *the saints, that thou mayst be refreshed by their words:* for by cleaving to saints shalt thou be sanctified. Thou shalt honor him, as far as thou art able,—from thy sweat and from the labor of thy hands. For if the Lord through him saw fit that spiritual food and drink and eternal life be given thee, thou oughtest much more to contribute the perishable and transient food; For the laborer is worthy of his hire, and, A threshing ox thou shalt not muzzle, and, No one planteth a vine and eateth not of its fruit.	*for where the teaching about God is, there God is present. Thou shalt seek out daily the face of the saints, that thou mayst be refreshed by their words.*
Cephas said: *Thou shalt not make divisions,*	10. *Thou shalt not make divisions* among the saints, remembering the Korahites. *Thou shalt make peace between those who contend*, as Moses (did) reconciling (them) to friendship. *Thou shalt judge justly*, for the Lord is the judgment. *Thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for a fault*, (but reprove) as Elijah and Micaiah, Ahab, and Ebedmelech the Ethiopian, Zedekiah, and Nathan, David, and John, Herod.
but shalt make peace between those who contend ; thou shalt judge justly ; thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for a transgression. For wealth doth not avail with the Lord ; for dignity doth not predispose, nor beauty aid, but there is equality of all with him. In thy prayer *thou shalt not hesitate, whether it shall be or not ;*	11. *Be not hesitant* in thy pray-

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	er, *whether it shall be, or not;* for the Lord saith to me, Peter, upon the sea, Thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? *Be not (one who) for receiving stretches out the hand, but for giving draws in.*
be not (one who) for receiving stretches out the hands, but for giving draws them in. If thou hast (anything) by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins;	12. *If thou hast (anything) by thy hands give,* in order that thou mayst labor *for a ransom for thy sins*; for by almsgiving and acts of faith sins are purged away.
thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur; for thou shalt know who is the good dispenser of the recompense.	*Thou shalt not hesitate to give* to a poor (man), *nor when giving shalt thou murmur; for thou shalt know who is the dispenser of the recompense.* For, He that is merciful to a poor (man), it saith, lendeth to the Lord, and according to his gift, so shall it be given to him again.
Thou shalt not turn away from a needy one, but shalt share in all	*Thou shalt not turn away from a needy one;* for it saith, He that stoppeth his ears, so as not to hear a needy one, himself also shall call, and there shall be none hearing him. *Thou shalt share in all things with thy brother, and shalt not say they are thine own,* for the participation is appointed from God to all men in common.
things with thy brother, and shalt not say they are thine own; for if ye are partners in that which is imperishable, how much more in the corruptible things.	*Thou shalt not take off thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from their youth thou shalt teach them the fear of God,* for it saith, Train thy son, for so shall he be to thee a good hope.

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Bartholomew said: Let us entreat you, brethren, as there is still opportunity, and ye have (those) for whom ye labor, with one another, be not remiss in anything, if ye have power; for near is the day of the Lord, in which all things shall perish together with the evil (one ?). For the Lord shall come, and his reward with him. Be good, (well-) instructed counsellors of each other. *Thou shalt guard what thou hast received, neither adding to it nor taking from it.*

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13. *Thou shalt not lay commands in bitterness of soul upon thy bondman or bondmaid who have trusted in the same God, lest perchance they* groan upon thee, and thou shalt have wrath from God; *and ye, bondmen, be subject to your lords as to God's image, in modesty and fear,* as to the Lord and not to men.

14. *Thou shalt hate every hypocrisy, and everything which is pleasing to the Lord thou shalt do; thou shalt by no means forsake the Lord's commandments, but shalt guard what (things) thou hast received* from him, *neither adding to them, nor taking from them;* for thou shalt not add to his words, that he may not reprove thee, and thou become a liar. *Thou shalt confess thy sins* to the Lord thy God, and shalt no more add to them, in order that thou mayst fare well with the Lord thy God, who willeth not the death of the sinner, but his repentance.

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15. Thy father and thy mother thou shalt serve as authors of thy being, that thou mayst be long-lived upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. Thy brethren and thy kinsmen do not despise, for Those of thine own seed thou shalt not despise.

16. The king thou shalt fear, knowing that the appointment is of the Lord; his governors thou shalt honor as ministers of God, for

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they are avengers of every unrighteousness ; to whom pay tax, impost and every offering, willingly.

17. *Thou shalt not come forward for thy prayer in the day of thy wickedness*, before thou hast put off thy bitterness. *This is the way of life*, within which may it come to pass that ye be found, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

18. *But the way of death is* seen in wicked doing ; *for in it are* ignorance of God, and bringing in of many gods, through whom *murders, adulteries, fornications*, perjuries, unlawful *lusts, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, sorceries, robberies, false testimonies, hypocrisies, duplicities, craft, arrogance, rice, self-will, greed, foul speech, jealousy, overboldness, haughtiness, pretence*, irreverence, *persecution of* (*the*) *good, enmity to truth, love of falsehood, ignorance of righteousness. For the doers of these things cleave not to* (*the*) *good, nor to righteous judgment ; are on the watch, not for good, but for evil ; far from whom are meekness and patience ; loving vanities, pursuing revenge, not pitying a poor* (*man*), *not laboring for the distressed, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the image of God, turning away from a needy* (*man*), *advocates of* (*the*) *rich, despisers of* (*the*) *poor, universal sinners ; may ye be delivered, children, from all these.*

19. *See that no one lead thee astray* from piety, for, Thou shalt not turn aside from it, it saith, to the right or left, that thou mayst have understanding in all things whatsoever thou doest ; for thou, if thou turnest out of the straight way, wilt be impious.

20. *But concerning meats*, the Lord saith to thee, The good things of the earth eat ye, and, Every flesh ye shall eat, as green herbs, but the blood thou shalt pour out ; for not the things that enter into the mouth defile the man, but the things that come out ; now I mean blasphemies slanders, and whatever else of this kind. But do thou eat the marrow of the land, with righteousness ; for if there is anything fair, it is his, and if anything good, it is his ; wheat for young men, and fragrant wine for maidens ; for who eateth or who drinketh apart from him ?

21. *But from things offered to idols flee, for they sacrifice these in*

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honor of demons, in despite, manifestly, of the only God;—that ye become not partners with demons.

22. *Now concerning baptism*, O bishop, or presbyter, we have both given directions already, before this, and now also we say that *thou shalt so baptize*, as the Lord directed us, saying: Go, make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them *into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you:—of the Father that sent, of the Christ that came, of the Paraclete that testified. And first thou shalt anoint with holy oil, then *thou shalt baptize with water*, and finally thou shalt seal with ointment, in order that the anointing may be a participation in the Holy Spirit, and the water a symbol of the death, and the ointment a seal of the covenants. But if there be neither oil nor ointment, the water sufficeth both for anointing and for seal and for confession of him that died or indeed is dying with (Christ). *But before the baptism let the baptized fast;* for the Lord after being first baptized by John and having taken up his abode in the wilderness, thereafter fasted forty days and forty nights. But he was baptized, and fasted, not because he himself had need of cleansing or fasting or purification, who was by nature pure and holy, but that to John he might bear witness of the truth and to us afford a pattern. Therefore the Lord was not baptized into his own suffering, or death, or resurrection (for not yet had any one of these things taken place), but into a different order; wherefore, also, of authority he fasteth after the baptism, as Lord of John; but one who is initiated into his death ought beforehand to fast, and then be baptized, for it is not right that one buried and risen with (him), should, at the very rising, be downcast; for man is not lord of the Saviour's order; since the one is master and the other servant.

23. *But let not your fastings be appointed in common with the hypocrites, for they fast on the second day of the week and during the fifth; but do ye fast* either during the five days, or *during the fourth and the preparation (day)*; because on the fourth the condemnation against the Lord went forth, Judas promising the betrayal for money; and

on the preparation, because on it the Lord suffered the suffering through the cross, by (the agency of) Pontius Pilate. Keep festival however (on) the Sabbath and the Lord's day, because the one is a memorial of the creation, and the other of the resurrection. But one Sabbath only is to be observed by you, in the whole year, that of the Lord's burial, (on) which it is proper to fast, but not to keep festival; for inasmuch as the Creator was just then under the earth, the grief for him is stronger than the joy over the creation, because the Creator is more honorable both by nature and worthiness than his own creatures.

24. *But when ye pray, become not like the hypocrites, but as the Lord directed us in the gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in the heavens, Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth; our daily bread give us to-day, and forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors, and bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil; for thine is* the kingdom and *the power and the glory forever;* Amen. *Three times in the day pray ye thus,* preparing yourselves beforehand (to be) worthy of the adoption of the Father, in order that ye may not, because you call him Father unworthily, be reproached by him, as Israel also, who once was a firstborn son, heard (the words): If I am a father, where is my glory, and if I am Lord, where is my fear? For the glory of fathers is the piety of children, and the honor of masters is the fear of servants, just as the contrary is dishonor and anarchy; For on your account is my name blasphemed among the nations.

25. *But be* always *thankful,* as faithful and discreet servants, *concerning the Eucharist* thus saying: *We thank thee, our Father, for the life which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant,* through whom, also, thou didst make all things, and dost provide for the universe, whom thou didst also send to become man for our salvation, whom thou didst also yield up to suffer and die, whom, when thou hadst raised him up, thou wast also pleased to glorify, and didst set him at thy right hand, through whom thou didst also promise to us the resurrection of the dead. Thou, Master Almighty,

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Eternal God, *just as this was scattered abroad, and having been gathered together became one bread, so gather thy church together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom.* Further we thank thee, our Father, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and the precious body, as symbols of which we observe these things, he having directed us to declare his death; for through him is to thee also the glory forever, Amen. *But let no one of the uninitiated eat of these things, but only those who are baptized into* the death of the *Christ.* But if any uninitiated one conceal himself and partake, eternal judgment doth he eat, because, not being of faith in Christ, he partook of that which was not lawful, to his own punishment; but if any one in ignorance partake, instruct him very quickly and initiate him, that he may not go out as a despiser.

26. *Now after the partaking, thus do ye give thanks: We thank thee,* God and *Father* of Jesus our Saviour, *for the holy name which thou didst cause to dwell in us, and for the knowledge and faith* and love *and immortality which thou didst give us through Jesus thy servant. Thou, Master Almighty,* the God of the universe, *who didst create the world and the things which are in it,* through him, and didst plant a law in our souls, and didst prepare for men the things for (their) participation, God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, thy faithful servants, the mighty God, the faithful and true and undeceptive in the promises, who didst send to the earth Jesus, thy Christ, to consort with men as a man, being God, Word and man, and to take away error by the roots, *do thou thyself now* through him *remember* this *thy* holy *church,* which thou didst acquire with the precious blood of thy Christ, *and deliver it from every evil, and make it perfect in thy love* and thy truth, *and gather us all into thy kingdom, which thou didst prepare. Maranatha. Hosanna to the Son of David,* blessed (be) he that cometh in the name of the Lord, God the Lord who was manifested to us in flesh. *Whoever is holy, let him draw near; whoever is not, let him become (so) through repentance. But permit* your elders *also to give thanks.*

27. Now concerning the ointment, thus give thanks: We thank

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thee, God, maker of the universe, both for the sweet odor of the ointment, and for the immortal world which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy servant: for thine is the glory and the power forever, Amen. *Whosoever cometh and thus* giveth thanks, *receive him* as a disciple of Christ; *but if he proclaim another teaching* from that which the Christ delivered to you through us, *do not* permit such an one to give thanks; for such an one rather insults God than glorifies (him).

28. *But every one that cometh to you, being proved, so let him be received; for ye have understanding, and can distinguish right or left,* and discriminate false teachers from teachers. *The teacher,* however, that has come, *supply heartily with the needful things;* but to the false teacher ye shall indeed give the needful things for his necessity, but ye shall not receive his error, nor, verily, shall ye pray with him, that ye may not be polluted with him. *Every true prophet* or teacher *coming to you is worthy of his maintenance, as a workman* of the word of righteousness.

29. *Every first-fruits of (the) products of wine-press, of threshing-floor, of both oxen and sheep, thou shalt give to the* priests, in order that the stores of thy garners and the growths of thy land may be blessed, and thou be established with corn and wine and oil, and the herds of thy cattle and the flocks of thy sheep be increased. Every tenth part thou shalt give to the orphan and the widow, to the poor and the stranger. *Every first part* of hot (things), *of bread-loaves, a jar of wine, or oil,* or honey, or fruits, of grape or the rest, *the first shalt thou give* to the priests, *but of money or clothing, and every possession,* to the orphan and the widow.

30. *During the* resurrection *day of the Lord, the Lord's day* (as) we say, *come together* unintermittently, *thanking God* and making acknowledgment for the things in which God benefited us through Christ, having delivered from ignorance, error, bonds, *in order that your sacrifice may be spotless* and acceptable to God, who said concerning his universal church, *At every place shall there be brought to me* incense and *a pure sacrifice; for a great king am I, saith the Lord* Almighty, *and my name is marvellous among the nations.*

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31. *Now appoint bishops worthy of the Lord*, and elders, *and deacons, men* devout, just, *meek, not avaricious*, truth-loving, *proved*, pious, not respecting persons, *able to teach* the word of piety, rightly dividing, in the commands of the Lord. *And ye, honor these* as fathers, as lords, as benefactors, as authors of well-being. *And reprove one another, not in anger, but in* long-suffering, with kindness and *peace. All the things enjoined upon you by the Lord shall ye keep. Watch for your life's sake. Let your loins stand girded, and the lamps burning*, and ye like men expecting their own Lord, when he shall come, at evening, or morning, or cockcrow, or midnight; *for at what hour they expect not, the Lord will come*, and if they open to him blessed are those servants, because they were found watching; for he will gird himself, and make them recline, and will come and serve them. Be sober, therefore, and pray that ye sleep not unto death; *for your former right deeds will not profit (you), if, at your last, you be led astray* from the true faith.

32. *For in the last days the false prophets and the corrupters* of the word *shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love into hate; for when lawlessness hath been multiplied* the love of the many shall grow cold; for *men shall hate each other, and shall persecute and shall betray, and then shall appear the world-deceiver*, the enemy of the truth, the prince of falsehood, whom the Lord shall destroy by the breath of his mouth, he who destroyeth impious ones with his lips. *And many shall be made to stumble* at him, *but he that endureth to the end, he shall be saved. And then shall appear* the Son of Man *in the heaven*, then shall be *a trumpet's sound* (given) by an archangel, *and afterwards a revival of those that have fallen asleep; and then shall the Lord come, and all the saints with him*, in an earthquake, *above the clouds*, with angels of his power, upon a kingly throne, to condemn the world-deceiving devil, and to render to each one according to his doing. Then shall the wicked go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous shall go into eternal life, inheriting those things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, and (which) entered not into the heart of man, which God prepared for

them that love him, and they shall rejoice in the kingdom of God which is in Christ Jesus.

§ 4. Modern Discussions before Bryennios.[1]

J. W. Bickell (d. 1848), who was the first to edit and publish the Greek text of the *Apostolic Canons*, raised the question[2] whether this might not be identical with the *Teachings of the Apostles* mentioned by Eusebius and others. He refrained from giving any positive answer.

In 1854 there appeared in the *Christian Remembrancer*[3] (p. 293 sq.) an article endeavoring to prove this identity, and to show also that the *Duæ Viæ vel Judicium Petri* of Rufinus was the same.

It was in the same year that Lagarde expressed the opinion that the *Teachings of the Apostles* (Euseb.) denoted not one work, but several.[4] Two years afterward, he observed that Clem. Alex. cited words found in the *Canons* as Scripture.[5] He inferred that the *Canons* date from the second century.

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[1] See especially Krawutzcky, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, III., and Harnack, *Proleg.*, p. 193 sq.

[2] Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, I., 1843.

[3] See Shaw, *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, I., p. 123 sq.

[4] In Bunsen's Analecta Ante-Nicæna, II., p. 37 sq.

[5] Lagarde, *Relig. Juris. Eccles. Antiq*, 1856. This is the passage found *Teaching*, l. 62 sq. The *Canons* took it from the same source from which Clement cited it.

After J. B. Pitra, eight years later, had published the text of the *Canons* on the basis of a Vatican Codex,[1] previously unknown, appeared Hilgenfeld's discussion of the subject.[2] Hilgenfeld not only indentified the *Canons* with the *Duæ Viæ* of Rufinus,[3] but asserted also the direct dependence of *Apost. Const.*, VII., upon this document, which, like Lagarde, he put in the second century.[4]

In 1875 Bryennios issued the Epistle of Clement, and gave a list of the contents of the Jerusalem Codex. The *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων* attracted little attention.

Bishop Lightfoot (*S. Clement of Rome, Appendix*, 1877, p. 231) made this remark: "What may be the value of the *Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum* remains to be seen; but a new authority for the Greek of Barnabas will be a great gain," etc.

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[1] *Juris. eccles. Græcorum hist. et monumenta*, Tom. I., Rom., 1864, pp. 77–86.

[2] *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum*, 1866, Fascic. IV.

[3] So, after him, J. G. Müller, *Der Barnabasbrief*, 1869, pp. 24, 345 sq.

[4] He did not, however, claim that we possess the *Canons* (or the *Duæ Viæ*) in their original form, cf. *Zeitschr.*, 1885, I., p. 74 sq. In the second edition of this Fascic., 1884, containing the text of the *Teaching*, with notes, he still holds that the *Canons* are the same with Rufinus' *Duæ Viæ*, agreeing, of course, that they depend upon the *Teaching*.

Gebhardt and Harnack published in 1878 their edition of Barnabas (with corrections furnished by Bryennios), and Gebhardt there expressed himself as undecided in regard to the connection between Barnabas, the *Canons*, and the *Constitutions*, and raised the query whether some lost book were not the common source. As to the identification of the *Canons* with Rufinus' *Duæ Viæ*, Gebhardt agreed (cautiously) with Hilgenfeld.[1]

So did Funk (*Op. Patr. Apostol.*, I., 1881, p. i).

Zahn, in a work published after Bryennios' *Διδαχή*, but partially written before the appearance of that, indicated his belief in the importance of the treatise,[2] but

[1] *Proleg.*, p. xxviii sq. Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, *Proleg.*, p. 204, might give a wrong impression of Gebhardt's attitude on this point,—an attitude entirely justifiable at the stage of knowledge then reached. Gebhardt's words are: "Hunc librum (*i.e.*, the *Canons*) eundem esse quem 'Judicii' [Petri] nomine Hieronymus (*cf.* de Viris Illustr. 1), 'Duæ Viæ vel Judicium Petri' Rufinus dixerit, post Hilgenfeldium alii homines docti coniecerunt. Jure ut videtur, quamquam non desunt quæ scrupulum inicere possint."—It may be added that Hilgenfeld (*Clem. Rom.* [in *Nov. Test. extra Can.*] 2d ed., 1876, p. xiii), in describing, after Bryenn., the contents of Cod. Jerus., says of the *Teaching*: . . . "fortasse ille libellus, quem Nicephori stichometria inter Novi Testamenti apocrypha quinto loco recensuit, . . . quem iam edidisse mihi videor in huius operis fasciculo IV., pp. 93–106." This reference is to the *Canons*.

[2] Zahn, *Supplementum Clementinum*, Erlangen, 1884, p. 69, n. He is discussing the sources of the *Canons*, and says: "Aber schwerlich wird man hier weiter kommen, wenn nicht die *διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων* aus dem cod. Constantinop herausgegeben wird, aus welchem Bry-

of course could not enlarge upon it in the earlier part of his book.

The critical acumen of the Subregens and Docent Krawutzcky, of Breslau, had in the meantime carried the discussion a long step forward. He not only found reason, from a careful examination of the two documents, to believe that the *Canons* and the *Constitutions* were independent of each other, and that their resemblances were due to their having drawn from a common source, but he also ventured to reconstruct that source. The discovery of the actual source, the *Teaching*, has vindicated his analytical skill, and proved his work to be a brilliant example of legitimate and successful Higher Criticism. We give his reconstruction entire, in English, with annotations, in such a way as to indicate the divergences from the actual *Teaching*, and the process by which Krawutzcky made his restoration.

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ennios uns den ganzen römischen Clemens gegeben hat."—He adds: "Die vorstehenden Sätze gingen mir an demselben Tage zur Correctur zu, an welchem ich durch die Theol. Literaturg., 1884, No. 3, die erste nähere Kunde von der so eben erfolgten Veröffentlichung der 'Apostellehre' erhielt."

[1] *Ueber das altkirchliche Unterrichtsbuch: "Die Zwei Wege oder die Entscheidung des Petrus,"* in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1882, III., pp. 359-445. High praise of his reconstruction does not involve indorsement of its title. The *Teaching* cannot be confidently identified with Rufinus' *Duæ Viæ.*

THE TWO WAYS, OR, THE JUDGMENT OF PETER.

Reconstructed by Krawutzcky, 1882.[1]

(CHAP. I.)—There are two ways, the one of life, and the other of death. But the difference is great between the two ways. For the way of life on the one hand is this.[2]

FIRST, Thou shalt love the God that made thee, *and glorify him that ransomed thee from death.*[3]

And SECONDLY, *Thou shalt love* thy neighbor as thyself. And all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have befall thee, thou, too, shalt not do to another.[4]

(CHAP. II.)—NOW THE SECOND COMMANDMENT OF THE TEACHING IS: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt[5] not commit adultery, THOU SHALT NOT CORRUPT BOYS, thou shalt not commit fornication, THOU SHALT NOT STEAL, THOU SHALT NOT PRACTISE MAGIC, thou shalt not use sorcery,[6] thou shalt not kill a child by abortion, not destroy what is conceived.[7]

THOU SHALT NOT LUST AFTER THE THINGS OF THY NEIGHBOR, THOU SHALT NOT FORSWEAR THYSELF,[8] thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not revile, thou shalt not bear malice, thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued, for a snare of death is the double tongue;[9] thy speech shall not be empty, nor false,[10] BUT FILLED WITH DOING.

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[1] All important words not actually found in the *Teaching*, are indicated by italics. Important words found in the *Teaching*, but omitted by Krawutzcky, are inserted here in small capitals. Other variations are noted below.

[2] This paragraph follows the *Canons*. The *Constitutions* agree, but make additions.

[3] So *Can.*, with further additions. The clause in ital. occurs in Barnab.

[4] So *Can.*, with further additions. The rest (about four-fifths) of Chap. I. is omitted by *Can.* and by K. The *Const.* have it, with additions and modifications.

[5] K.'s transl. omits "thou shalt" quite often, apparently to save space.

[6] φαρμακεύσεις. K.: "Giftmischen."

[7] γεννηθέν. K.: "nach der Geburt es umbringen." The *Can.* are here followed; the *Const.* are much amplified.

[8] Found in *Const.*, with additions.

[9] διγλωσσία. K.: "Doppelzüngigkeit."

[10] *Teaching*: "false nor empty."

Krawutzcky's "Two Ways."

Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor arrogant,[1] nor take evil counsel against thy neighbor.

Thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt reprove, *and some thou shalt pity*, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thy life.[2]

(CHAP. III.)—My child, flee from every evil thing, and from everything like it. Be not inclined to anger, for anger leadeth to murder;[3] *become* not jealous nor contentious nor passionate; for of ALL these murder is[4] begotten.

Child, become not lustful; for lust leadeth to fornication, *and draweth men to it.*[5]

Child, become not foul-mouthed, nor lofty-eyed, for of ALL these things spring[6] adulteries.[7]

Child, become not an omen-watcher,[8] since it leadeth to idolatry, nor an enchanter,[9] nor an astrologer,[10] nor a purifier,[11] nor be willing to know nor hear[12] thereof; for of all these things idolatries[13] are begotten.

Child, become not a liar, since lying leads to theft; nor avaricious, nor vainglorious; for of all these things thefts are begotten.[14]

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[1] Thus far both *Can.* and *Const.* *Const.* greatly modify the following clause; Barnab. agrees with *Can.*

[2] ψυχήν. K.: "Seele." This paragraph is from *Can.*; *Const.* vary after the first clause.

[3] Here K. omits as an interpolation ἔστι γὰρ δαιμόνιον ἀρρενικὸν ὁ θυμός: "for a male demon is wrath," (so *Can.*). Otherwise the *Can.* are followed.

[4] *Teaching:* "murders are."

[5] So *Can.* There follows a paragraph relating to the "female demon of lust" and the demon already named, which K. omits as an interpolation.

[6] γίνονται. *Teaching:* γεννῶνται.

[7] This sentence after *Can.*

[8] οἰωνοσκόπος. K.: "Vogelflugschauer."

[9] ἐπαοιδός. K.: "Zaubersänger."

[10] μαθηματικός. K.: "Erforscher der Zahl- und Raumgeheimnisse;" K. thinks this meaning follows from *Const.*, VII., 6.

[11] περικαθαίρων. K.: "Reinigungsmeister."

[12] So *Can.* *Teaching:* "look upon these things."

[13] *Teaching:* "idolatry." K. follows *Can.* in this paragraph, with some confirmations from *Const.*

[14] So *Can.* Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, I., c. 20.

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Child, become not a murmurer, since it leads [1] to blasphemy; nor presumptuous, nor evil-minded; for of all these things blasphemies are begotten. But be meek, since the meek shall inherit *the kingdom of heaven*.[2] Become long-suffering, pitiful,[3] AND guileless and gentle,[4] AND good *and watchful*,[5] and trembling CONTINUALLY at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor permit over-boldness to thy soul. Thou shalt not cleave with thy soul [6] to the high, but with the righteous and lowly thou shalt consort; *and* the things that befall thee shalt thou accept as well-wrought, knowing that without God nothing occurs.

(CHAP. IV.)—Child, him that speaks to thee the word of God, *and becomes for thee a joint-author of life, and gave thee the seal, in the Lord*, shalt thou *love as the apple of thine eye and* [7] remember *him* night and day, and thou shalt honor him as the Lord: for whence the Lord's honor is imparted in speech,[8] there the Lord is. And thou shalt seek out *his face*[9] daily, and the rest,[10] that thou mayst be re-

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[1] *Can.*: ἄγει. *Teaching*: ὁδηγεῖ.

[2] *Teaching*: "the earth."

[3] *Can.* add here, "peacemaking, pure in heart from every evil." Not in *Const.*, and rejected as interp. by K., on the grounds that they might easily have been suggested to the writer of the *Can.* by Matt. v., 8, 9, and that *Const.*, which are fond of Scripture citations, would not have omitted them if they had been in the earlier document.

[4] ἡσύχιος. K.: "ruhig."

[5] So *Can.*; not in *Const.*

[6] So *Can.* *Teaching*: "Thy soul shall not cleave." The paragraph is almost exactly from the *Can.* *Const.* similarly, but with additions and variations.

[7] So *Can.*, which are followed in this paragraph throughout. *Const.* omit the words in ital., substituting for "love as the apple of thine eye," the word "glorify," and giving a modification of the rest in a following clause.

[8] Greek of *Can.* as in *Teaching*, which K. translates (as above): "denn woher die Würde des Herrn in der Rede mitgetheilt wird, daselbst ist der Herr." *Const.* have "for where the teaching concerning God is, there is God present."

[9] πρόσωπον. K.: "Gegenwart."

[10] This sentence in *Can.*; *Const.* agree with *Teaching*: "And thou shalt seek out daily the faces of the saints, that thou mayst be refreshed by their words."

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freshed,[1] cleaving to their words;[2] *for as saint shalt thou by saints be sanctified.*[3]

Thou shalt not make divisions,[4] but shalt make peace between those who contend; thou shalt judge justly; thou shalt not respect persons in convicting for a transgression,[5] *for not riches have efficacy with the Lord, for not honors does he prefer, nor does beauty avail, but there is equality of all with him.*[6]

In thy prayer thou shalt not doubt, whether it shall be or not: be[7] not one who for receiving stretches out his hands, but for giving draws them in. If thou hast, by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur: for thou shalt know who is the good[8] dispenser of the recompense. Thou shalt not turn away from a needy one, but shalt share all things with thy brother and shalt not say they are thine own; for if ye are partners in that which is imperishable, how much more in the perishable things.

This[9] is the Way of Life, *within which* [*i.e.*, the life] *may it be granted to you to be found through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

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[1] *Can.*: ἐπαναπαύσῃ. *Const.* and *Teaching*: ἐπαναπαύῃ. K.: "damit du dich . . . erquickest."

[2] *Can.*: ἵνα ἐπαναπαύσῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν κολλώμενος. K.: "damit du dich an ihren Worten erquickest, indem du ihnen anhängst."

[3] So *Can.* [4] οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα. *Can.*, which is here followed.

[5] K.: "Fehltritt."

[6] The words in italics, though not in *Const*, are retained by K. on the ground that they seem like a poetic citation, and the author of the *Can.*, who uses his material clumsily, would not be likely to insert them.

[7] So K. Γίνου in *Const.*, *Can.*, and *Teaching*.

[8] To illustrate K.'s successful use of literary criticism by a simple case, we give his note on this paragraph: "Das Wort 'gute' vor Lohnerstatter fehlt im Ssp. [*i.e.*, *Const.*], findet sich jedoch schon im Barnabasbriefe. Statt des letzten Satzes, welcher die Pflicht des menschlichen Mitgefühls auf die Glaubensgenossen zu beschränken scheint, sagt der Ssp. zutreffender: 'denn gemeinsam wurde das Empfangen von Gott allen Menschen zubereitet.' Für die Echtheit obigen Textes spricht indess gleichfalls die Uebereinstimmung mit dem obengenanten Brief."

[9] Preceding this a long passage actually found in the Teaching is omitted by K.,—although it appears in *Const.*, which are here followed, and, essentially, in Barnabas

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(CHAP. V.)—But the Way of Death may be recognized by evil acts:[1] *for in it are ignorance of God and introducing of many gods.*

Through whom are[2] murders, adulteries, fornications, *perjuries, unlawful* desires,[3] thefts, idolatries, magic arts, sorceries,[4] robberies, false testimonies, hypocrisies, duplicities,[5] craft, arrogance, malice, self-will,[6] greed, foul speech, jealousy, over-boldness, haughtiness, pretence,[7] *irreverence*,[8] persecution[9] of the good, toward truth, *hostility*, toward falsehood, love,[10] ignorance of THE REWARD OF righteousness.[11]

For the doers of these things do not cleave[12] to that which is good, nor[13] to righteous judgment, are on the watch[14] not for good but for evil, far from whom are meekness[15] and patience, loving vanities,[16] pursuing revenge,[17] not pitying a poor man, not laboring for the distressed, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of the image of God, turning away from the needy, OPPRES-

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—apparently because it is lacking in the *Can.* *Can.* omit also the words, "This is the Way of Life." K.'s argument for the genuineness of these words is: "Die Worte: 'Dieses ist der Weg des Lebens' können jedoch in der Entscheidung, da hier bald nach der Weg des Todes geschildert werden sollte, kaum gefehlt haben." He adds, however: "Und auch die Wunschformel dürfte nicht erst dem Ssp. sondern schon der vorgenannten Schrift angehören, da auch die Schilderung des Todesweges mit einem Wunsche schliesst, der wegen der Anrede 'Kinder,' die sonst im Ssp. nicht vorkommt, wahrscheinlich aus der Entscheidung stammt."

[1] *Const.* only source for K. Gr.: *ἐστὶν ἐν πράξεσι πονηραῖς θεωρουμένη.* It varies from *Teaching, q.v.*

[2] K. ("entstehen").—*Const.* K.'s only source for this paragraph.

[3] *ἐπιθυμίαι παράνομοι. Teaching* has *ἐπιθ.* before "fornications."

[4] K.: "Giftmischereien." Gr., as in *Teaching.*

[5] K.: "Doppelherzigkeiten." Gr.: *διπλοκαρδίαι. Teaching:* sing.

[6] K.: "Anmassung." [7] K.: "Hoffart."

[8] Gr.: *ἀφοβία.* K.: "Scheulosigkeit." [9] *διωγμός. Teaching: διῶκται.*

[10] *ἀληθείας ἔχθρα, ψεύδους ἀγάπη.* Varies from *Teaching, q.v.*

[11] *ἄγνοια δικαιοσύνης.* Varies from *Teaching, q.v.*

[12] *Teaching:* "Not cleaving," etc. *Const.* and Barnab. only sources for K.

[13] *οὐδέ*; so *Teaching.* K.: "noch auch."

[14] Gr.: *ἀγρυπνοῦσιν. Teaching:* participle. [15] *πραότης. Teaching: πραΰτης.*

[16] K.: "das Falsche liebend." Gr., as in *Teaching.*

[17] K.: "Ψ jagend nach Belohnung." Gr., as in *Teaching.*

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SING THE AFFLICTED,[1] advocates of the rich, despisers[2] of the poor, universal sinners. May ye be delivered, children, from all these things.

The next step was the publication of the original *Teaching* by Bryennios.

§ 5. Sources of the Teaching.

The principal source seems to have been a body of tradition and habit, recognized and practised by that part of the church with which the writer of the *Teaching* was best acquainted, or which he regarded as normal. These traditions and habits had started from apostolic teachings, and grown by accretion; at the same time they had been somewhat modified by the circumstances and natural tendencies of those who received them. In common with others, no doubt, the author of our Treatise made no sharp distinction between the original apostolic basis and the later accretions. Whatever elements might have attached themselves to Christian habit, which were glaringly inconsistent with the tenor of apostolic preaching, as he conceived it, he would naturally remove, but

[1] These words are not in Lagarde's text of *Const.* (*q.v.* for crit. appar.), and appear to have been rejected by K. Ueltzen's text, given by Bryenn., contains them. They occur also Barnab. XX.

[2] πενήτων ὑπερόπται. *Teaching:* "lawless judges of the poor."

there would be in his mind neither the requirement nor the ability of critical, historical discrimination. What he received as characteristically Christian, that he wrote down, believing that, as he did so, he was recording, in substance, what the apostles required of their converts, and what their Lord had taught them to require.

He was familiar, also, with the Old Testament Scriptures. He speaks of David (l. 169) as one who knew him as ancestor of Jesus. The Ten Commandments underlie much of Chaps. II. and III., the requirement of giving the first-fruits can hardly have been independent of Deut. xviii. 4, etc., and there are other indications, in language and matter, of an acquaintance with the Old Testament. Twice he makes definite citations from it, l. 273 sq. (from Mal. i. 11, 14), and l. 315 sq. (from Zach. xiv. 5). Some expressions suggest the language of certain apocryphal O. T. books.

The author of the *Teaching* makes use also of matter found in the New Testament. It is, however, difficult to say how far he was acquainted with the New Testament writings themselves. The chief points of contact are in the gospels,—most of all in Matthew. The word "gospel" occurs four times (l. 156, 215 sq., 285, 289 sq.). In all of these it seems to denote a body of teaching, in the last two apparently a written document.

Harnack takes this position decidedly, and is led by some passages which combine Matthew's text with that of Luke to the conclusion that the author had before him a text of Matthew with some additions from Luke. He raises the query whether this may have been the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*.[1]

We prefer to think that, while the author was acquainted with at least one written gospel, he cited, chiefly or wholly, from memory, and that the mixture of Matthew and Luke which sometimes appears in his quotations was due to the fact that, so citing, he did not sharply distinguish between them. It may then be supposed, either that he knew these two written gospels, or that he knew one of them (probably Matthew) and combined with it, in his citations from memory, phrases from the oral tradition which must have been fresh and strong in his time, and that these phrases agree with that form of the tradition which the other of the two evangelists here to be considered (probably Luke) crystallized in his gospel.[2]

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[1] *Proleg.*, p. 79.

[2] Is the presence of the words "the God that made thee," in Justin M., *Apol.*, I., 16, as well as in the *Teaching* and Barnabas, a sufficient reason for supposing that the *Teaching* in l. 6 is citing (directly or indirectly) from a written gospel which contained these words? (cf. Harnack, *Proleg.*, pp. 76, 77).

There is no evidence, in the *Teaching*, of an acquaintance with the writings of John. There are words and phrases in the Eucharistic prayers, Chaps. IX., X., which are found in John's Gospel,[1] but these only indicate that the prayers were composed under the influence of similar ideas to those of John; the resemblances are not close enough to prove literary dependence. In any case, the connection is not between the author of the *Teaching* and the Johannean ideas, for the prayers were no doubt found by the author, in actual use. Traces of the Apocalypse are not to be found in the *Teaching*.

The Book of Acts was not used by the author. *Teaching*, l. 92 sq. bears an external resemblance to Acts iv. 32, but it is only external. The phrase was undoubtedly employed often in the instruction of converts, and does not, in the *Teaching*, involve or imply community of goods in the technical, literal sense.

The *Teaching* is wholly uninfluenced by the Pauline

[1] Cf. Harnack, *Prolog.*, p. 81. Harn. gives (p. 79 sq.) a list of verbal resemblances between the *Teaching* and John's Gospel. The most striking are: "the vine" (*T.*, l. 169; Joh. xv. 1); "make known" (ἐγνώρισας, *T.*, l. 170, etc.; Joh. xv. 15, xvii. 26); "life and knowledge" (*T.*, l. 173; Joh. xvii. 3); "knowledge and faith and immortality" (*T.*, l. 188 sq; Joh. vi. 69, 70); "spiritual food and drink and eternal life" (*T.*, l. 194 sq.; Joh. vi. 27, etc.); "make it perfect in thy love" (*T.*, l. 199 sq.; Joh. xvii. 23; 1 Joh. ii. 5, iv. 12, 17, 18).

theology. Neither are l. 103 sq., which suggest Eph. vi. 5, 9; l. 50 sq., suggesting 1 Thess. v. 22, and l. 303 sq., with its parallel in 2 Thess. ii. 3–10, explicit enough to favor direct connection. These were doubtless familiar expressions among the early Christians.

Possibly we are to think of l. 15 sq. as modelled after 1 Pet. ii. 11, although the phraseology might easily have been habitual in the church, as the occasion for the injunction was constantly arising. If we follow the Cod. and read "bodily" for "fleshly" (see § 12, p. cvi), the resemblance is diminished.

The conclusion is that there is little or no proof that the author used any written materials from Christian sources, or knew any of the N. T. canonical writings, except one gospel. In l. 32 sq. he quotes words unknown elsewhere,—perhaps from some document, perhaps as a current saying.[1]

[1] For the views of those who make the *Teaching* depend upon Barnabas and Hermas see § 3.—Massebieau (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, Sept.-Oct., 1884) putting the *Teaching*, at least in its main part, earlier than the treatises just referred to, thinks it had two chief sources (p 158): (1) Words of Jesus drawn from an early gospel, recalling the *Logia* in Matt. (2) Prescriptions attributed by the author (cf. title) to the apostles. "Dans ces prescriptions," he says, "qui sanctionnent un certain nombre de coutumes juives, j'ai cru pouvoir distinguer les traces d'un enseignement destiné aux proselytes juifs, avant d'être utilisé pour les catéchumènes chrétiens."—The suggestion is ingenious, but lacks adequate proof.

We append a table of the Scripture passages with which the language of the *Teaching* shows resemblances,—including, for convenience' sake, the unknown citation of l. 32 sq.

SCRIPTURE LANGUAGE IN THE TEACHING.

a. *Acknowledged Citations.*

		LINE
O. T.,	Zech. xiv. 5	315 sq.
	Mal. i. 11, 14	273 sq.
N. T.,	Matt. vi. 9–13	155 sq.
	Matt. vii. 6	183 sq.
——	Unknown	32 sq.

There are four express references to "the gospel:"

(1) L. 155 sq., cf. Matt. vi. 9–13 (see above).

(2) L. 215 sq., cf. Matt. x. 9, 10, and parallels (see below).

(3) L. 285, cf. Matt. xviii. 15–17.

(4) L. 289 sq., cf. Matt. vi. 1–18.

b. *Unacknowledged.*

		LINE
O. T.,	Ex. xx. 13–17 Dt. v. 17–21	35–40 (cf. 51 sq.).
	Nu. xviii. 12, 13, 15, 30 Dt. xviii. 3, 4 Cf. Ezek. xliv. 30, and Neh. x. 35–37	256 sq.

Bryennios compares also

LINE

Tobit iv. 15 ..... 7 sq.
Sirach ii. 4 ..... 75 sq.
Sirach iv. 5 ..... 91 sq.
Sirach iv. 31 ..... 86 sq.

N. T., Matt. v. 5 ..... 69 sq.
Matt. v. 25, 26 ..... 30 sq.
Matt. v. 39–42 (cf. Lu. vi. 29, 30) ..... 16 sq.
Matt. v. 44–46 (cf. Lu. vi. 27 sq.) ..... 10 sq.
Matt. vi. 5 ..... 154 sq.
Matt. vii. 12 ..... 7 sq.
Matt. x. 9, 10 (cf. Lu. ix. 1–6 ; x. 4–21) .. 220 sq.
Matt. x. 10 ..... 254 sq.
Matt. xii. 31 (cf. Ma. iii. 29) ..... 224 sq.
Matt. xxi. 9 205
Matt. xxii. 37–39 ..... 5 sq.
Matt. xxiv. 9–11 ..... 298 sq.
Matt. xxiv. 24 ..... 299, 309
Matt. xxiv. 30, 31 ..... 312 sq.
Matt. xxiv. 31 ..... 200 sq.
Matt. xxviii. 19, 20 ..... 140 sq.
Lu. vi. 27 sq. (see Matt. v. 44–46, above).
Lu. vi. 29, 30 (see Matt. v. 39–42, above).
Lu. ix. 1–6 (see Matt. x. 9, 10, above).
Lu. x. 4–21 (see Matt. x. 9, 10, above).

	LINE
N. T., Lu. xii. 35	291 sq.
Acts iv. 32	92 sq.
Epli. vi. 5, 9	103 sq.
1 Thess. v. 22	50 sq.
2 Thess. ii. 3–10	303 sq.
1 Pet. ii. 11	15 sq.

§ 6. Arrangement of Matter in the Teaching.[1]

The author of the *Teaching* has for the most part arranged his materials naturally,[2] but without pedantic accuracy and sometimes without clear logical sequence. Hence there are some repetitions, and some obscurities as to the division and entitlement of sections. There may, however, be distinguished three leading divisions, with a subdivision of the second part, as follows:

(1) Chaps. I.–VI.

(2) Chaps. VII.–XV.

(*a*) Chaps. VII.–X.

(*b*) Chaps. XI.–XV.

(3) Chap. XVI.

[1] See particularly Zahn, *Supplem. Clement.*, Erlangen, 1884, p. 289 sqq.; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 79 sqq.; Harnack, *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, Leipzig, 1884, *Prolcg.*, p. 38 sqq.

[2] Massebieau (*loc. cit.*, p. 158) makes the following remarks, of some interest, also, in connection with § 2 (*Integrity of the Text*):

We subjoin a more detailed topical analysis:

(1) Chaps. I.–VI. Rules for the personal Christian life, under the scheme of *the two ways*.

Ch. I., l. 3 sq. The two ways, of life and of death. L. 5 sq. The way of life involves love to God and one's neighbor, and the latter is expressed negatively by the command to abstain from doing to another what one would not desire for oneself. L. 9–33. Expansion of love to one's neighbor (love to God receives no special expansion).

Ch. II., l. 35–49. Expansion of l. 7 sq., though without explicit reference to those lines.

Ch. III., l. 50–77. Injunctions against whatever leads to the previously named offences, closing with positive directions as to the way in which some of these may be avoided, *e.g.*, by care against certain dangerous states of mind (as "over-boldness"), by association with the righteous, by a recognition of God's hand in everything.

Ch. IV., l. 78–111. Personal duty with reference to respect toward spiritual teachers, seeking helpful companionship, peace-making, justice, unselfishness, the duty

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"La redaction de la *Didachè* paraît une à cause de la netteté du plan: peutêtre le passage sur les jeûnes a-t-il été interpolé. Peutêtre aussi la partie relative à l'enseignement de la doctrine ne nous est-elle pas arrivée en entier."—This is, however, mere conjecture.

of parents, of masters, and of slaves. As a final summary, it is urged to keep the Lord's commandments, without tampering with them, and to make public confession of sin.

Ch. V., l. 112-131. The way of death, portrayed in various details.

Ch. VI., l. 132–138. Warning against false and seductive teaching, and final exhortation to fulfil the whole requirement of the Lord, as far as the ability goes; particularly in respect to food,—but to abstain especially from food offered to idols.

(2) Chaps. VII.–XV. Rules for the life of the Christian community.

(*a*) Chaps. VII.–X. Christian Rites.

Ch. VII., l. 139–150. Baptism.

Ch. VIII., l. 151–154. Fasting; l. 154–166. Prayer.

Ch. IX., l. 167–180. Thanksgiving, concerning the cup and the bread of the Eucharist. L. 180–184. Prohibition for unbaptized to partake.

Ch. X., l. 185–208. Thanksgiving after the Eucharist.

(*b*) Chaps. XI.–XV. Ministers of the Christian community.

Ch. XI., l. 209–241. Reception of true teachers, of apostles and of prophets.

Ch. XII., l. 242–252. Reception of strangers in general (apparently suggested by Ch. XI., and inserted here without strict appropriateness).

Ch. XIII., l. 253–266. Maintenance of prophets.

Ch. XIV., l. 267–276. Lord's Day, to be observed by public assembly, Eucharist and confession, after reconciliation on the part of those who have quarrelled.

Ch. XV., l. 277–283. Appointment of bishops and deacons. L. 284–290. Final directions for life in the Christian community;—mutual reproof, discipline, and close observance of the commands of the gospel.

(3) Chap. XVI., l. 291–318. Exhortation to watchfulness in view of the possibility of the Lord's speedy coming, and the need of perfection in the last time. Eschatological predictions.

§ 7. Purpose and Scope of the Teaching.

The *Teaching* is addressed to Gentile-Christians (see title), and does not explicitly contemplate Jewish-Christians. The (unbelieving) Jews are mentioned once, as "hypocrites" (l. 152), Jewish-Christians not at all.[1] It

[1] It does not, however, follow that the author's opposition to the unbelieving Jews occasioned his non-mention of Jewish-Christians (Harn., *Proleg.*, p. 30), but only that it was Gentile-Christians whom the author wished to reach,—perhaps that the Jewish-Christians were swallowed up in the mass of Gentile-Christians in the community or communities which he had especially in view.

is designed to give them practical instruction in the Christian life, according to the teachings of the twelve apostles, and of the Lord himself, through them. It covers the main points of Christian practice, both that of the individual believer, and that of the local church. Whatever of doctrine or ecclesiastical polity it contains is quite subordinate and incidental to the practical design. The author evidently laid hold of Christianity not so much on its dogmatic as on its ethical side, and his book resembles in this respect the epistle of James. This is the more remarkable, because there is no evidence that he was himself of Jewish origin.[1] This would appear to indicate distinctly a circle of Gentile-Christians (individuals or communities) in which this same preponderance was given to the ethical over the dogmatic. Personal loyalty and obedience to the Lord was set in the foreground. The emphasis on doctrine, in the narrower sense, and on ecclesiastical forms, had not yet become their habit.[2]

[1] Bryennios thinks the author was a Jewish-Christian, and the readers, too (p. δ', n. 3). But his grounds are insufficient See Harnack, *Prolog.*, p. 31 sq. Cf. also Massebieau, above, p. lxxviii, note.

[2] Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.*, p. 289 (and so, emphatically, in *Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, July 11, 1884), explains this predominant character of the *Teaching*, in part, at least, by the remark that the *Teaching* was not designed to be a complete description of Christianity and church life, but only a practical assistant to other sources of instruction and

§ 8. Doctrine of the Teaching.

It has already been said that the doctrinal element in the *Teaching* is subordinate and incidental. Certain intellectual beliefs are assumed, but not developed nor dwelt on. Such doctrine as we find is of the simplest description, and does not include even all the dogmas which the systems of Christian truth regard as fundamental. It is, however, considerable in amount, and of the greatest interest,—all the more that it is incidental. The Doctrine of God was apparently the phase of truth most habitually present to the writer's mind.

God is conceived:—as Creator (1. 6, 191 sq.); Father, and Father in heaven (157, 169, 172, 186); Ruler (77, 100 sq.); Master Almighty (191); Benefactor (23 sq.); to be feared (97 sq., 100 sq.); to be honored (80); giving Commandments (106 sq., cf. 133); holy (186); Foe of hypocrisy and evil (105 sq.); ground of hope (99);

edification. This certainly does not appear in the treatise itself. It makes the impression that the author supposed himself to be giving the substance of that which Christians need concern themselves about, *i.e.*, not offering a *substitute* for the gospel, but, while condensing it and presenting only its chief features, still giving these with sufficient fulness to serve as a guide to the believer in his actual life.—Massebieau, as already noticed (above, p. lxxxi, note 2), suggests the possibility that the original contained more doctrinal matter than our present text. This, however, is not likely.

Author of salvation (169 sq., 172 sq.) and spiritual life (194 sq.); Sovereign of church (198 sq.); addressed in prayer (Chaps. VIII.–X.); judging prophets (236 sq.).

There is no hint of the Trinity except in the baptismal formula (141 sq., 146), the Holy Spirit is elsewhere mentioned, l. 102 (cf. 223, 226, 230, 238).

Of Anthropology there is almost nothing, except as it is involved in the ethical judgments and requirements of the book.

The Christology also is simple:—Jesus is very often named as Lord (l. 155, 182, 183, 213, 214, 217, 227, 242, 278, 290, 294); as Jesus Christ, mediator of God's glory and power (179 sq.); as God's servant (170 sq., 174, 190); perhaps as "holy vine of David" (169)[1]; as Son (Cod. "God") of David (205)[2]; gives commandment (155); gospel belongs to him (as its author) (156); he is present where his word is spoken (81); as Lord gives name to a day of the week (267).

There is very little of Soteriology:—Jesus is the agent of God in bringing salvation; the salvation itself is

[1] So Harnack, *ad loc.*, who compares Clem. Alex. *Quis div. salv.* 29 (see above, p. xxvi). A review of Harn., however, signed ϒ, in *Lit.-Centrablatt*, Jan. 24, 1885, holds that the "vine of David" is the church. This seems less probable.

[2] ϒ (*loc. cit.*) retains the "God" of the Codex, and denies all reference to Christ.

eternal life and knowledge and faith and holiness, etc. (l. 173 sq., 186 sq., 194 sq., etc.). Only once is there anything which can be called a reference to the Atonement (l. 169 sq.).[1]

One passage seems to contain a germinal Pelagianism (l. 88 sq.). Regeneration may be implied (it is not expressed) in l. 187 sq. Repentance is enjoined upon the non-holy (l. 206).

Sanctification is contemplated for the church (l. 198–201), but also for the individual (*e.g.*, l. 134 sq., 295–298). A distinction between a lower and a higher obligation of Christian attainment appears, l. 134 sq.

Ecclesiology is embryonic. There is no well-defined doctrine of the sacraments, but these are guarded by the exclusion of the unbaptized from the Eucharist.[2]

A relatively large space is occupied by Eschatology (l. 177 sq., 198 sq., 206 [?], and Chap. XVI. entire). The resurrection of the righteous only is announced, l. 315 sq. The treatise does not even hint at a resurrection of the wicked, and we have no ground for asserting that the author expected it.

For the details of these and other doctrinal statements and presuppositions, see the Notes.

[1] Cf. note next but one preceding.

[2] "Eucharist" seems hardly to have lost its etymological force; see l. 167, and Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.*, p. 297.

§ 9. Constitution of the Churches according to the Teaching.

The church organization underlying this treatise is, like the doctrine, of the simplest, most rudimentary character. Christians are, indeed, to appoint bishops and deacons (l. 277 sq.), apparently over the local church;—yet it seems necessary to insist upon the measure of respect due to them, as if their position were not wholly assured (l. 281 sq.). Their service is that of the prophets and teachers (l. 280 sq.). Nothing indicates any other official act on their part. On the contrary, the injunctions about baptism (Ch. VII.), prayer (Ch. VIII.), eucharistic thanksgiving (Ch. IX., X.), the reception and treatment of teachers and others (Ch. XI., XII., XIII.), breaking of bread on the Lord's day (Ch. XIV.), reproof and discipline (Ch. XV.), edification (Ch. XVI., l. 295 sq.), are addressed to Christians, as such, and would seem to involve common and equal responsibilities and privileges.

"Apostle" and "prophet" are the names given to travelling teachers (Ch. XI., etc.); they are not carefully discriminated. Apparently the term "prophet" is more inclusive; an apostle was a prophet (l. 219, 222), but a prophet not necessarily an apostle. An apostle

might not remain more than two days in one place (l. 218 sq.); a prophet might settle in any community (Ch. XIII.). Yet a community might be without a prophet (l. 260). The first-fruits should be given to the prophets (l. 257 sq.).

Baptism was a necessary pre-condition of partaking of the Eucharist (l. 280 sq.). The Eucharist itself is not described. There is to be an assembly on the Lord's day, where bread is broken, sins confessed, and thanks given (l. 267 sq.). Besides that, assemblies for mutual edification are to be frequent (l. 295 sq.).

Fasting is to be practised on Wednesdays and Fridays (l. 153 sq.).

All these details point to a very early period in the history of Christianity, or to a very secluded part of the church,—perhaps to both.[1]

§ 10. Date and Place of Composition.

a. *Date.*

With the proof (§ 3) that the *Teaching* furnished materials to both Barnabas and Hermas is furnished also the evidence that it cannot have been written later than

[1] On all the foregoing see the elaborate discussion of Harnack, *Proleg.*, § 5, pp. 88–158; cf., however (with caution), Hilgenfeld's criticism, *Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 89 sq.

about A.D. 120. When, however, the possibility is considered that Barnabas may date from the very earliest years of the second century (or possibly the later years of the first[1]), and that a little time would probably elapse between the composition of the *Teaching* and its use by Barnabas, we shall be inclined to put the date of the *Teaching* not far from A.D. 100. Many confirmations of this date can be suggested.[2]

As against the theory that the *Teaching* originated in the fourth century,[3] or even the fifth or sixth,[4] we might notice that the intention of the scribe to whom we owe the Jerusalem Codex evidently was to preserve documents of a very early period. Chrysostom's Synopsis dates from the fourth century, but most of the writings belong, either in fact or by tradition, to the earliest extra-canonical period. The *Teaching* follows the Epistles of Clement (with the intervention of only the list of the Old Testament books), and is immediately followed by the letter of Mary of Cassobelæ, and those of Ignatius

[1] Funk, *Patr. Apost.*, I., p. vi. Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, II. (1883), p. 678.

[2] There is no reason for zeal in behalf of an early date. The treatise would be in some respects more interesting and valuable if it could be shown to date from the middle of the second century instead of the beginning (cf. Harnack, *Prolog.*, p. 167), but the facts do not warrant the later date.

[3] J. C. Long, *Baptist Quarterly*, July–Sept., 1884.

[4] C. K. Nelson, *Proceedings of Am. Philol. Assoc.*, July, 1884.

himself. This seems to indicate that the scribe, doubtless representing more than his own individual opinion, thought the *Teaching* to be a very ancient Christian document, which affords a certain presumptive evidence of its real antiquity.

Much more important is the early use, citation, and mention in other documents besides those just referred to. We need only recall the names of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Athanasius, etc. (see § 3). While this succession of testimonies does not fix the exact date, the *Teaching* must have existed years before the earliest of them was given, so that we need feel no surprise in finding it earlier than Hermas and Barnabas.

But the internal evidence is also strong. Not only does the *Teaching* breathe a simplicity, a directness, and a freshness, which point to an early date, but there are more definite and tangible reasons for assigning such a date to it. Its doctrinal teachings are implicit, not explicit (cf. § 8). Its ecclesiastical arrangements are of the most primitive kind (cf. § 9). The lines are not sharply and rigidly drawn between different orders in the church. There is no hierarchy, no diocesan bishop. Sacramental forms are brief,—somewhat liturgical, indeed, but unimposing. There is no indication of a canon of New Testament books, nothing of symbols of faith,

nothing of church festivals.[1] There is no mention of particular heresies,[2]—not even of Montanism.

All this points to an early part of the second century.

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[1] For a list of omissions in the *Teaching*, which point to an undeveloped Christianity, see Harnack, *Proleg.*, p. 161 sq.—On the other hand, the internal arguments by which Harnack (p. 165 sq.) tries to show the impossibility of a date earlier than Hadrian's reign, either seem exaggerated in statement or do not prove his thesis.

[2] That the false teachers spoken of in Ch. XI., "leicht als die gangbaren Irrlehrer des zweiten Jahrhunderts, namentlich Gnostiker, zu erkennen sind" (Hilgenf., *Zeitschr.*, 1885, I., p. 88, see below), is a statement hardly warranted by the facts, and certainly could have no great weight with any who hold, *e.g.*, the Epistle to the Colossians to be Pauline.

[3] Hilgenfeld thinks there are evidences of Montanism, as follows: (1) L. 15, 16: "Abstain from the fleshly and worldly (*Cod.*, bodily) lusts" He says (*Nov. Test. extra Can. Rec.*, Fasc. IV., ed. 2, p. 104): "*Hæc sententiarum nexum interrumpunt. præcedentia enim et sequentia aliorum hominum vim et injuriam sustinendam esse docent. quod autem non carnalibus tantum, sed etiam corporalibus voluptatibus interdicitur, Montani duritiæ bene convenit.*" It is, however, difficult to see in the injunction anything more rigid than simple Christian morality, and even if there were Montanism here, the lack of connection would point to interpolation,—as Hilgenfeld seems to hold—rather than to a Montanistic author of the treatise. But the structure of the *Teaching* does not favor the hypothesis of interpolation (see § 2), and if the context is so inappropriate, how came an interpolator to choose it for his pet requirement?—(2) L. 134 sq: "For if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do." Hilgenf. says (*ib.*, p 105): "cf. I., 4. *Pneumatici et Psychici discernebantur a Montanistis.*" But the terms of the injunction are too vague to give us the right to infer Montanism.—(3) L. 136 sq: "And concerning food, what thou art able, bear." Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 105): " . . . *de cibo leges supponun-*

True, the various parts of the church had doubtless a variant history in respect to all these matters. Practices and views were prevalent in one section long be-

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tur perfectis (*cf. I.*, 4) *observandæ, vulgaribus Christianis remittendæ. hæc sunt ieiunia duriora apud Montanistas Psychicis remissa*, cf. *VII.*, 2, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται (νηστεύειν). *Appollonius contra Montanistas apud Euseb.*, HE., *V.*, 18, 2: (*Montanus*) ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας." —(4) L. 204: "Let grace come, and let this world pass away." Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 107): "*Bryennius bene contulit Tertulliani nondum Montanismo addicti Apologet., c.* 39: '*oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.*' *Montanismum igitur sapiunt illa verba, fortasse cum sequentibus* εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν—μετανοείτω μαραναθά, *interiecta inter* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας et ἀμήν."—(5) L. 207 sq.: "But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will." Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 107): "*Bryennium non fugit, eandem fere licentiam Justinum M. Apol., I.*, 67, *p.* 98, *tribuere præsidibus ecclesiarum . . . quo magis Montanistarum sententiam cognosco in toto cap. XI. expositam.*"—(6) L. 212 sq.: "But *if he teach* so as to promote righteousness and knowledge of the Lord," etc. Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 107): "*iam nova docentur, quibus vetus illa doctrina christiana augetur iustitia et cognitione domini. novam autem doctrinam Paracleti post legem et evangelium Montanistæ professi sunt. talis doctrinæ christianæ professio commendatur.*"—(7) L. 214 sq.: "But in regard to the apostles and prophets," etc. Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 107): "*Montanus ab Apollonio* (*apud Euseb.*, HE., *V.*, 18, 2) *appellatur* ὁ σαλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς κηρύττουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἵνα διὰ τῆς γαστριμαργίας ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου κρατύνηται. *hi sunt apostoli novæ prophetiæ. ab eodem Apollonio apud Euseb.*, HE., *V.*, 18, 5, *Themiso Montanista dicitur* μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον καθολικήν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν κτλ. *Cenones quoque, i.e.*, κοινῶνας *Montanistarum conferre iuvat, cf. librum meum:* Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums, *p.* 578, *not.* 975, *prophetæ igitur videntur Paracleti vel tertiæ divinæ revelationis esse, illos apostolos prophetis cognatos esse sequentia docent*," etc.—(8) L. 222 sq.: "And every prophet who speaketh

fore they were heard of in another. Early training and peculiar traditions determined the development and growth of this and that Christian body, to a degree that

in the spirit, ye shall not try nor judge," etc. Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 107): "*Presbyter qui anno fere* 192 *p. Chr. contra Montanistas scripsit* (*apud Euseb.*, HE., *V.*, 16, 12): ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν καὶ προφητοφόντας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλουν, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀμετροφώνους αὐτῶν προφήτας ἐδεξάμεθα."—(9) L. 233 sq.: "But every prophet, proved, true, . . . shall not be judged among you." Hilg., having prepared the way by changing ποιῶν to μυῶν, and κοσμικὸν to κοσμικῶν (see § 12), says (*ib.*, p. 108): "*Montani sociarumque spiritum* τὴν δι' ὅλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν *docuisse retulit presbyter anni fere* 192 *p. Chr. apud Euseb.*, HE., *V.*, 16, 9, *Themisonem Montanistam in catholica epistula* βλασφημῆσαι εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν *Apollonius apud Euseb.*, HE., *V.*, 18, 5. *Psychici qui dicebantur etiam* κοσμικοὶ *appellari poterant. nihilo minus Tertullianus de virg. vel.* 2: '*Cum psychicis communicamus ius pacis et nomen fraternitas,*' *itaque mihi quidem sensus videtur esse:* '*Omnis propheta probatus verax initians in mysterium secularium ecclesias, non docens vero facere, quod ipse facit, non iudicabitur coram vobis.*' *secularium vel vulgares ecclesiæ a propheta veraci initiantur mysterio huius mundi exeuntis, regni dei proxime instantis et quæ huius generis sunt, sed non instruuntur eadem vitæ ratione, qua propheta ipse utitur, vel Paracleti disciplina severiore. talis propheta adeo non est subiunctus sub Christianorum non secularium iurisdictionem, ut illi cum deo iurisdictio sit.*" In like manner, Hilg. understands "the ancient prophets" (l. 238); they are "*prophetæ Christiani Paracleto priores, qui vulgaribus ecclesiis ad huc infirmioribus pepercisse putantur.*" Evidently any connection with Montanism which depends upon the emendations here suggested, and upon the hazardous identification of κοσμικοὶ with "*Psychici*" is the merest hypothesis, and this identification has indeed been abandoned by Hilg. himself (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol*, 1885, I., p. 93.—(10) L. 256 sq.: "Every first-fruit, then, . . . thou shalt take and give to the prophets;" Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 108): "*Montanus ab Apollonio apud Euseb.*,

kept some groups of believers largely independent of the wide, general movements of the masses of Christians. Hence it is possible that a document might have been

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HE., V., 18, 2; *appellatur ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι προσφορῶν τὴν δωροληψίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος.*"—(11) L. 259: "For they are your highpriests." Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 108): "*hæc Montanistam potius quam Judæum origine* (Bryennius, *σελ. δ'*) *produnt. nam apud Cataphryges prophetæ cum Cenonibus* (*κοινωνοῖς*) *ipsis episcopis præferebantur, cf. librum meum:* Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums, *p.* 598. *catholicum rationem defenderunt Constitutt. app. II.*, 25, *p.* 54, 1 *sq.*," etc.—(12) L. 282 sq.: "For they are the ones who are honored of you, together with the prophets and teachers." Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 109): "*prophetæ et doctores certe et ipsi ecclesiis præfecti a Montanistis additi videntur esse. nam Montanistæ posteriores post de Pepuza Phrygiæ Patriarchas et Cenones* (*κοινῶνας, κοινωνούς*) *tertio loco habebant episcopos, tum presbyteros proprios, denique diaconos, etc., cf. librum meum:* Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums, *pp.* 578, 598. *Hieronymus epist.* 41 *ad Marcellum Catholicis opponit Montanistas: 'apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est',*" etc.—(13) Chap. XV., *ad fin.;* Hilg. (*ib.*, p. 109): "*partis alterius* [*i.e.*, Ch. VI., l. 136 to end of treatise] *finem principalem agnosco, toto fere capit. XVI. a Montanistis addito.*" He particularizes only l. 296 sq: "For the whole time of your faith *thus far* will not profit you, if ye do not become perfect in the last time." He compares the variations in Barn., IV. (see § 3), and says (*ib.*, p. 109): "*iniquo tempori novissimum substituitur, certamini perfectio* (*cf. I.*, 4, *VI.*, 2) *utrumque Montanismo bene convenit.*" —Whoever carefully examines these points in detail will perceive that some of them can be made Montanistic only by violence, and that others refer most naturally to early tendencies which came to full development in Montanism,—very much as the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians combat early tendencies which afterward appeared under maturer forms, in Gnosticism. Still others have been discussed as they were presented. But the chief objection to the theory of Montanistic influence in the *Teaching* is the lack of any

composed, *e.g.*, in Egypt, and omit things which it could not have omitted if composed in Antioch, Ephesus, or Rome. But the great movements of Christian thought seem to have permeated the whole body with considerable rapidity, and hence, although this argument cannot

emphasis upon the distinctive Paraclete doctrine of Montanus and his followers.—Hilgenfeld has, however, repeated and reinforced his opinion in his review of Harnack's *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel* (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I.). His additional remarks upon l. 214 (*Zeitschr.*, p. 89), 222 (*ib.*, p. 92), l. 238 (*ib.*, p. 93 sq.), l. 282 sq. (*ib.*, p. 95), are of especial interest. He adds the following passages, as showing traces of Montanism: l. 177, "let thy church be gathered together," and l. 200, "gather it from the four winds" (*ib.*, p. 87). —In view of his whole argument, learned and acute as it is, we can only repeat that while most of the phases of church life and doctrine upon which he rests his case were found in Montanism, some of them were not especially characteristic of it, and more not peculiar to it, while the great salient, distinguishing and unmistakable feature of Montanism, the doctrine of the Paraclete, with its dualistic assumption (cf. Bonwetsch, *Gesch. des Montanismus*, Erlangen, 1881, p. 63, etc.), is conspicuous by its absence.—As an eccentric paragraph on this topic we append the following from an attempted demonstration of a much later date for the *Teaching* than even Hilgenfeld would accept: "Some have found in the chapters on prophets an indication that the Montanists are referred to. But here two things may be said: 1. The prophets mentioned are not regarded as necessarily heretical. They were a class which the *Teaching* would recognize unless they gave proof of being impostors. 2. While the Montanists arose about the middle of the second century they continued for several centuries. They are mentioned and condemned by the Second General Council in 381. The *Teaching*, therefore, may have alluded to the Montanists, and yet not be of very early origin" (Prof. J. C. Long, D.D., *Baptist Quarterly Review*, vol. VI., 377 sq.).

be used to fix the date of the *Teaching* with precision (see § 9 *ad fin.*), it avails to show, in general, the need of an early date.

There are also indications of a transition period in the language of the *Teaching*,—something between the New Testament and other Hellenistic Greek of like, or earlier, date, and the Greek of the third and fourth centuries. It is true that the evidence from the language is largely negative;—*i.e.*, there is no sufficient ground for giving the treatise a later date than that here suggested, so far as appears from an examination of the language. In regard to the words χριστέμπορος (l. 251 sq.) and σιτίαν (l. 261), which are not found elsewhere in the Greek of this early period, it is entirely possible that they may here appear for the first time in the church-literature.[1]

On the other hand, there are in the language a few positive indications of age, notably in the case of χειροτονέω (l. 277, q.v.). For other particulars see the Notes.

It may be said, in general, that of the Greek words (something over 500) found in the *Teaching*, all, with the exception of a little more than eight *per cent.* are found in the New Testament with like meanings.[2]

[1] It does not seem necessary to resort to the supposition (cf. L. S. Potwin, below) that these words are later interpolations.

[2] Two scholarly papers on the language of the *Teaching* have been published: L. H. Hall, *The Phraseology of the Teaching as an Index*

We conclude, then, on all grounds, that the *Teaching* was probably written not far from the year A.D. 100.[1]

b. *Place.*

Here one can hardly be very confident, and yet it seems reasonable to say that the *Teaching* was probably composed in Egypt. The grounds for this opinion are the following:

(1) There are strong reasons for believing that the Epistle of Barnabas, the first writing to make use of the *Teaching*, was composed at Alexandria.

(2) The earliest (certain) quotation from the *Teaching* is found in Clement of Alexandria.

(3) The *Apostolic Canons*, largely dependent on the *Teaching*, appear to have originated in Egypt.

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of its Age, in *Journ. of Christian Philos.*, April, 1884; L. S. Potwin, *The Vocabulary of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,"* in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct., 1884.

[1] Some of the dates assigned by other writers are: Bryennios, A.D. 120–160 (p. κ'); Wordsworth, not much after 100 (*Guardian*, March 19, 1884); Harnack, 140–165 (*Proleg.*, p. 167); Hilgenfeld, toward 160 (*i.e.*, post-Montanistic:—*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1884, III., p. 369); Funk, before 100 (*Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1884, III., p. 401); Zahn, 80–120 (*Suppl. Clem.*, 1884, p. 304) or c. 110 (*ib.*, p. 319). In favor of a date not far from A.D. 100 are also Bonwetch, Massebieau, Harris, Spence, and others.

(4) Athanasius (Alexandria) speaks of the *Teaching* as sanctioned by "the fathers."[1]

(5)[2] Travelling "teachers" and "apostles" were to be found more constantly in Egypt than elsewhere (Clement and Origen). Eusebius names one such in the second century, Pantænus of Alexandria.[3]

(6) The doxologies of the *Teaching* omit "(thine is) the kingdom." The Sahidic version of Upper Egypt joins with Cod. *k*. of the Itala as witness for such an omission in the Lord's Prayer.

No such array of arguments can be adduced for any other place. That the doxology itself of the Lord's Prayer originated in Syria,[4] would only show that some

[1] On the other hand, the *Shepherd* was composed in Rome; but the date of the *Shepherd* is more likely after the middle of the second century (see p. xlvi) than before. If the *Teaching* was known in Rome in Hermas' time, Irenæus might easily have seen a copy of it (see p. xxiii sq.). If, however, there be sufficient ground for referring Pfaff's Irenæus-fragments to an Alexandrine Father (cf. Zahn, p. 280, and above, p. xxiii, n.), the argument for Egypt is made all the stronger.—We may admit that the author of the *Apost. Const.* lived in Syria, but that, in the fourth century, the *Teaching* should have been known there is not surprising. Nowhere else than in Egypt, however, is there such a succession of early testimonies.

[2] For 5 and 6 see Harn., p. 168 sq., and Westcott and Hort, as below.

[3] Euseb., *H.E.*, V., 10, VI., 19, ed. Migne, II., 453, 568.—Euseb. does not indeed call him an apostle.

[4] Westcott and Hort, *Greek Testament*, II., Notes on Select Readings, p. 9.

of the matter used by the author of the *Teaching* came from Syria, which is entirely in accordance with what we should expect in the case of a work professedly designed to record and fix common Christian traditions; it does not show that the *Teaching* was written in Syria;[1] the same may be true of the liturgical prescriptions as a whole, of the permission to use warm water for baptism, of the mention of "bread scattered abroad over the hills," etc.,—if it be thought that these expressions are unsuitable for Egypt.[2] The weight of argument seems, at all events, in favor of Egypt.[3]

§ 11. Peculiarities of the Codex.[4]

The entire *Codex*, including the *Teaching* and the other documents (cf. § 1), is written without divisions into *chapters* and *paragraphs*, except that a space occurs

[1] This *vs.* Harris, *Journ. of Christ. Philos.*, April, 1884, p. 384.

[2] But distinctly against Syria (and Asia Minor as well) is the undeveloped character of the ministry, etc., as presented in the *Teaching*, compare with Epistles of Ignatius (Wordsworth in *Guardian*, March, 19, 1884. Harnack, *Proleg.*, p. 167 sq.).

[3] Dr. Wordsworth suggests (*l. c.*) "some church of Greece or Macedonia," but without strong positive grounds; Hilgenfeld proposes Asia Minor, as the home of Montanism (see *Zeitschr.*, 1885, I., p. 76). Massebieau (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.*, Sept.-Oct., 1884) suggests Rome; Hayman (*Dublin Review*, Jan., 1885), a place N. or N.E. of Thessalonica,—etc., etc.

[4] Cf. Bryenn., *Proleg.*, § 13.

three times in Clem. Ep., I. (viz., between capp. 38 and 39, and 64 and 65, and once in cap. 65, just before the benediction).

Capitals are found only at the beginnings of books, even proper names being written without them.

Iota subscr. occurs but once (Barnab., 20, ἐν ᾗ ἐστι κ.τ.λ.). It is sometimes written after the vowel under which modern usage would subscribe it. This occurs twice in the *Teaching* (l. 73, τῆι ψυχῆ; l. 75, ἀναστραφήσηι). Sometimes it is omitted (see ψυχῆ, above).

Nun ephelkustikon occurs repeatedly before consonants, and is repeatedly omitted before vowels. The *Teaching* has one case of the former (l. 251, ἐστιν· προσέχετε κ.τ.λ.), and two of the latter (l. 99, ἐλπίζουσι, ἐν κ.τ.λ.; l. 273, ἐστι ἡ ῥηθεῖσα κ.τ.λ.)

Sigma euphon. is omitted from οὕτως before a vowel only once in the *Cod.* (*Teaching*, l. 167, οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε), and so μέχρις (l. 30, μέχρι οὗ κ.τ.λ.); on the other hand, οὕτως (with ς) appears repeatedly before consonants in Clem. Ep., I. and II., and in Barnab. always. So also *Teaching*, l. 156, οὕτως προσεύχεσθε; l. 216 and 289, οὕτως ποιήσατε.

The following *punctuation-marks* occur:—(.) (·) (,) (;), but there are irregularities in their use. The colon (·) is more frequent than the period (.). The comma

(,) is not unusual (five times in the *Teaching;* l. 14, ποιοῦσιν,—l. 94, ἐστε,—l. 223 and 230, πνεύματι,—l. 302, ἀνομίας,). The question mark (;) occurs only once (Clem., I., 17); the comma takes its place in *Teaching*, l. 14.

The *diæresis* (¨) is frequently written. It is omitted, *Teaching*, l. 69 (πραύς).

The *hyphen* is unknown. When a word is divided at the end of a line, the division is regular, with a few exceptions,—one in the *Teaching* (l. 122, ου κεις).

The *quotation-mark* (') is occasionally found; not in the *Teaching*.

The *apostrophe* (') is used, with a few exceptions (in Clem., I.).

The *coronis* (', mark of crasis) is never found.

Breathings and *accents* are (with few exceptions) regularly placed. The rule for enclitics is quite strictly observed.

The *Codex* writes always οὐχ', κακεῖ, κακεῖνος, κακεῖνοι, κακείνων, καγώ, καμέ, τουπίσω, ὑφέν, κατεικόνα (once κατ' εἰκόνα, Clem., I., 33), διατοῦτο, ἐπιτοαυτό (occasionally also διαπαντός, ἐπεσχάτων, ἐφοσόν), ἀπαρχῆς, ἐξαρχῆς, ἱνατί, ἐπεὶ δή, οὐκ οὖν (mostly), τοὐτέστι [so Bryenn., —for τουτέστι ?], μὴ δέ, μὴ δὲ μίαν, μὴ δέν, μὴ δείς, μὴ θαμῶς, μὴ δέ ποτε, μὴ κέτι, οὐκ έτι (occasionally) [οὐκ

ἔτι, so given by Bryenn.], ὁπότ' ἄν, ὅτ' ἄν (with a few exceptions), ἐν ἀλλάξ, ὡς αὕτως (so also many other compound words), σιννᾶ and σινᾶ, ἄβραάμ, ἡλίας, ἐλισσαιέ, sometimes also ἰεζεκιήλ, ἰεσσαί, ἐλιακείμ, ἠσαῦ.

The following words are generally contracted: Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Κύριος, Θεός, ἄνθρωπος, οὐρανός, Δαβὶδ (δᾶδ), σωτηρία, πνεῦμα, πνευματικός, πατήρ, μήτηρ, and some others.

§ 12. The Printed Text of the Διδαχή.

Bryennios has introduced into his text (the *editio princeps*, see p. ix sq., and Appendix) a few emendations and corrections of the *Codex*. The Greek text here published is intended to be an exact reproduction of that of Bryennios. The same is given by Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, by Professor Orris, by Dr. Wünsche, by Mr. Fitzgerald, by Dr. Curry, and by Professor Prins.[1]

Harnack and Hilgenfeld have freely varied from Bryennios in spelling, accent, and punctuation, and sometimes, also, in readings.

The present editors believe it convenient to retain the numbering of the lines, as it appeared in their first edi-

[1] See bibliography in Appendix. Wünsche's text varies somewhat from Bryenn. in punctuation, and is not edited with the greatest care. The same must be said of those of Fitzgerald and Prins.

tion. Harnack, Hilgenfeld, Orris, etc., have indicated verse-divisions by means of numbers on the margin or in the text. These editors do not, however, agree in the placing of these numbers, and it has been thought best to attempt nothing of the kind in the text now issued.

The following tables are designed to exhibit the principal published texts, in their relation to each other and to the *Codex* (J.). Errors, manifest or presumable, both of editor and printer, have been noticed, except where an editor has himself corrected them in the same publication. They are marked with *. The line-numbers are those of the text herewith published.[1]

Table I. presents variant readings and spellings. It indicates, at times, the authority (as Barnabas, *Apostolic Constitutions*, etc.) on which a change is made.

Table II. presents variations in accent and punctuation. Punctuation is almost wholly lacking in the *Codex*, and Bryennios' text is here taken as the standard. The ac-

[1] It has not been possible to collate the texts of Romestin and Spence for these tables, nor that published at Christiania in Caspari's *Theologisk Tidsskrift*;—on all these see Appendix. They are essentially reprints of Bryennios' text. Wünsche's text has been collated from the first edition; some errors may have been corrected in the later impressions. The results of a collation of the texts of Prin and Fitzgerald are not here given, for reasons that will be obvious to scholars who have examined them.

centuation of the *Codex* (generally correct, see p. ciii), is noticed only where it seemed necessary to distinguish it from that of some printed text.

Table III. gives a list of suggested emendations which no printed text has yet adopted.

It will be understood that the later editions agree with Bryennios, and Bryennios with the *Codex* (except in punctuation,—see above), if the contrary is not mentioned. Sometimes, however, especially in Table I., such agreement is indicated.[1]

Table I.[2]

Title.—H. om. 2d title; O. gives 1st title only in heading of his article; L. gives 1st title in cursive letters.

LINE

16. σωματικῶν J., H., Ha.; κοσμικῶν Br. (Const.).

17. σιαγόνα Br.; διαγόνα C.*

25, 27. ἀθῶος Br.; ἀθῷος C.

28. ἱνατί Br.; ἵνα τί H. Ha.

32. δὲ J., H., Ha.; δὴ Br.

[1] For his deviations from the *Codex*, see Bryennios, *ed. princ.*, *pass.*

[2] Abbreviations: J. = Jerusalem Codex; Br. = Bryennios; H. = Hilgenfeld; Ha. = Harnack; L. = Luthardt's Zeitschrift; O. = Orris; C. = Curry; W. = Wünsche; Gebh. = Gebhardt; Const. = Apostolic Constitutions; Can. = Apostolic Canons; Ba. = Epistle of Barnabas.

LINE

32. *ἱδρωτάτω* J.; *ἱδρωσάτω* Br., Ha.; *ἱδρυσάτω* H.

38. *γεννηθέντα* J.; *γεννηθὲν* Br. (Ba.), H., Ha.

48. *οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις*, add. H. (Can.), after *ἐλέγξεις*,

49. *ἀγαπήσεις* Br.; *ἀγαπήσες*, H.*

59. *εἰδωλολατρίαν* J., Ha.; *εἰδωλολατρεῖαν* Br., H.

62. *εἰδωλολατρία* J., Ha.; *εἰδωλολατρεῖα* Br., H.

73. *σεαυτὸν* Br.; *ἑαυτὸν* H.

82. *ἐπαναπαῆς* J.; *ἐπαναπαύῃ* Br. (Const.); *ἐπαναπαῇς* H., Ha.

83. *ποθήσεις* Br.; *ποιήσεις* H., Ha. (Ba., Const.).

91. *ἡ* J.; *ὁ* Br. (Const., Can.), H., Ha.

104. *ἡμῶν* J.; *ὑμῶν* Br., H., Ha.

114, 115. *εἰδωλολατρίαι* J., Ha.; *εἰδωλολατρεῖαι* Br., H.

115. *φαρμακίαι* J., Ha.; *φαρμακεῖαι* Br., H.

[132. *Κεφ. ϛ΄* Br.; *Κεφ. ϛ΄* C.*]

148. *ὁ βαπτιζόμενος* Br.; *οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι* H..

149. *κελεύεις* J., Ha.; *κελεύσεις* Br., H.

155. *ὑποκριταί* Br.; *οὐποκριταί* W.*

158, 159. *γεννηθήτω* J.; *γενηθήτω* Br. (Const.), H., Ha.

175. *τοῦτο κλάσμα* Br.; *τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα*, Ha. (Gebh.).

188. *ὑμῶν* J.; *ἡμῶν* Br., H., Ha.

188. *ὑπὲρ* Br.; *῾πὲρ* W.*

197. *εἶ* Br., H.; *εἶ σύ* Ha.

197. *σὺ ἡ δόξα* J.; *σοὶ ἡ δόξα* Br., H., Ha.

LINE
205. ὡς ἀννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ J.; ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ Ha.; ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ Br. (Const.), H.—(ὡς ἀνιὰ, W.* marg.)
206. μαραναθά Br., H.; μαρὰν ἀθά Ha.
216. δὲ Br., Ha.; δὴ H.
217, 218. οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν Br.; μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν H.; οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἡμέραν μίαν Ha.
221. εἰμὴ Br.; εἰ μὴ H., Ha.
229. ὁ ῥίζων J.; ὁρίζων Br., H., Ha.
230. εἰδὲ Br.; εἰ δὲ H., Ha.
234. ποιῶν Br., Ha.; μυῶν H.
234, 235. κοσμικὸν Br., Ha.; κοσμικῶν H.
244. ἕξεται J.; ἕξετε Br., H. (cf. Const.), Ha.
244. Εἰμὲν Br.; εἰ μὲν H., Ha.
248 and 253. καθῆσαι Br.; καθίσαι H., Ha.
256. ὥς περ Br. (divides thus at end of line without hyphen); ὥσπερ O.; ὥσπερ *Alii Omnes.*
258. δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις (W.* προζήταις), J., H., Ha.; τ. απαρχὴν om. Br., W.
264. ἱματισμοῦ Br.; ἱματισ μοῦ O.*
268. προσεξομ. Br., Ha.; προεξομ. H., Ha. (after Gebh. in note, p. 54).
270. ἡμῶν J.; ὑμῶν Br., H., Ha.
287. ἀκουέτω Br., Ha.; ἀκουέσθω H. (see also Ha., p. 288).

LINE
[291. *Κεφ. ις'* Br.; *Κεφ. ις'* C.*]
307. *κτίσις* Br., Ha.; *κρίσις* H.
311. *ὑπ'* Br., Ha.; *ἀπ'* H.
314. *τὸ τρίτον* Br., Ha.; *τρίτον* H.
318. *οὐρανοῦ* Br., Ha., H.; *οὐρονοῦ* W.*

Table II.

5. *πρῶτον,* Br.; *πρῶτον* H.
6. *σε·* Br.; *σε,* H.
7. *δεύτερον,* Br.; *δεύτερον* H.
7. *σεαυτόν·* Br.; *σεαυτόν.* H.; *σεαυτόν,* Ha.
8. *γίνεσθαί σοι,* Br.; *γίνεσθαι σοι,* H.*
9. *ποίει.* Br.; *ποίει·* C.
11. *νηστεύετε* Br., L.*; *νηστεύετε Alii Omnes.*
12. *ὑμᾶς·* Br.; *ὑμᾶς.* H.
15. *ὑμᾶς* Br.; *ὑμᾶς,* Ha.
17. *τις σοι* Br.; *τίς σοι* H.
20. *ἄρῃ* Br.; *ἄρη* H.*
23. *ἀπαίτει·* Br.; *ἀπαίτει.* H.
26. *ἐστιν·* Br.; *ἐστιν.* Ha.
29. *τί,* Br.; *τί·* H., Ha.
30. *ἔπραξε,* Br.; *ἔπραξε* H.
30. *ἐκεῖθεν* Br.; *ἐκεῖθεν,* H.
34. *δῷς* Br.; *δῴς* (?—Accent defective) C.*

LINE

35. διδαχῆς Br.; διδαχῆς· H., Ha.; διδαχῆς. W., L., C.
39. ἀποκτενεῖς. Br.; ἀποκτενεῖς, H., Ha.
39. πλησίον, Br., πλησίον. Ha.
46. ὑπερήφανος. Br.; ὑπερήφανος, Ha.
51. ὀργῖλος J.; ὀργίλος Br.
57. ὑψηλόφθαλμος· Br.; ὑψηλόφθαλμος C.*
60. περικαθαίρων, Br.; περικαθαίρων H.
69. πραΰς, Br.; πραΰς· H.; πραύς, Ha. (J., Ba.).
79. ἡμέρας, Br.; ἡμέρας. H.
81. ἐστιν. Br.; ἐστιν, W.*
84. μαχομένους· Br.; μαχομένους. H.
88. συσπῶν· Br.; συσπῶν. Ha.
88. ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου Br.; ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, Ha.
93. εἶναι· Br.; εἶναι. H.
95. θνητοῖς; Br.; θνητοῖς. H., Ha.
103. δούλοι J. (so Br. in letter to Ha.—See Ha., "*Lehre*," p. 288); δοῦλοι, Br.
103. δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι Br.; δὲ, οἱ δοῦλοι, H.
109. σου, Br.; σου H.
118. ἀλαζονεία· Br.; ἀλαζονεία. Ha.
123. πραΰτης Br.; πραυτης C.*
132. Ὅρα Br.; Ὅρα, H.
136. βρώσεως, Br.; βρώσεως H.
140. προειπόντες, Br.; προειπόντες H., Ha.

LINE
149. δύνανται· Br.; δύνανται. H.
153. πέμπτῃ· Br.; πέμπτῃ. H.
156. αὐτοῦ, Br.; αὐτου W.
159. γῆς· Br.; γῆς. W.
161. ἡμῶν Br.; ἡμῶν, H.
170. ἐγνώρισας Br.; ἐγνώρισας. W.*
171. αἰῶνας. Br.; αἰῶνας, W.*
173. ἡμῶν, Br.; ἡμῶν W.*
173. γνώσεως, Br.; γνώσεως Ha.
178. βασιλείαν· Br.; βασιλείαν C.*
180. αἰῶνας. Br.; αἰῶνας· W.
182. κυρίου· Br.; κυρίου. H.
189. ἀθανασίας· Br.; ἀθανασίας, Ha.
192. σου, Br.; σου H.
193. ἀπόλαυσιν Br.; ἀπόλαυσιν, H., Ha.
197. σοι ὅτι Br.; σοι, ὅτι H.
200. σου, Br.; σου H.,
201. ἁγιασθεῖσαν Br.; ἁγιασθεῖσαν, Ha.
204. χάρις Br.; χάρις, H.
206. ἔστι, Br.; ἐστί, H.
206. μετανοείτω· Br.; μετανοεῖτω. H.
206. μαραναθά. Br.; μαρὰν ἀθά· Ha.
209. πάντα, Br.; πάντα H., Ha.
212. ἀκούσητε· Br.; ἀκούσητε. H.; ἀκούσητε, Ha.
216. εὐαγγελίου, Br.; εὐαγγελίου H.

LINE
217. *Κύριος·* Br.; *κύριος.* H.
218. *μίαν·* Br.; *μίαν,* H.
219. *ἄλλην·* Br.; *ἄλλην.* W.
221. *ἄρτον* Br.; *ἄρτον,* H.
221. *αὐλισθῇ·* Br.; *αὐλισθῇ.* W.
223. *προφήτην* Br.; *προφήτην,* L.*
223. *λαλοῦντα* Br.; *λαλουντα* Ha.*
223. *πνεύματι,* J.; *πνεύματι* Br., H., Ha.
225. *ἡ* Br.; *η* Ha.*
227. *Κυρίου.* Br.; *κυρίου·* Ha.
230. *πνεύματι,* J., Br.; *πνεύματι* H.
230. *αὐτῆς,* Br.; *αὐτῆς·* H.
231. *ἐστί·* Br.; *ἐστί.* H., Ha.
232. *ἀλήθειαν,* Br.; *ἀλήθειαν* H.
234. *δεδοκιμασμένος,* Br.; *δεδοκιμασμένος* H., Ha.
234. *ἀληθινός,* Br.; *ἀληθινὸς* H.
243. *δεχθήτω,* Br.; *δεχθήτω·* H.
243. *γνώσεσθε·* Br.; *γνώσεσθε.* H., W.; *γνώσεσθε—* Ha.
243, 244. *γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε* Br.; *γνώσεσθε— σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε—* Ha.
249. *φαγέτω·* Br.; *φαγέτω.* Ha.
253. *ἀληθινός,* Br.; *ἀληθινὸς* H.
254. *ὑμᾶς,* Br.; *ὑμᾶς* H.
254. *αὐτοῦ.* Br.; *αὐτοῦ* C.*

LINE
255, 256. *αὐτός*, Br.; *αὐτός* C.*
256. *αὐτός*, Br.; *αὐτὸς* Ha.
256. *ἐργάτης*, Br.; *ἐργάτῃς* Ha.
256. *αὐτοῦ*. Br.; *αὐτοῦ·* H.
260. *πτωχοῖς*. Br.; *πτωχοῖς·* W.*
262. *ἐντολήν*. Br.; *ἐντολήν·* W.*
263. *ἀνοίξας*, Br.; *ἀνοίξας* H. Ha.
265. *ἀπαρχὴν* Br.; *ἀπαρχήν*, H., Ha.
270. *ᾗ*. Br.; *ᾗ·* H.
272. *ὑμῶν·* Br.; *ὑμῶν*. H., Ha.
[277. *Κεφ. ιε΄*. Br.; *Κεφ· ιε΄*. W.*]
289. *ποιήσατε*, Br.; *ποιήσατε* Ha.
291. *λύχνοι* Br.; *λυχνοι* O., C.*
296. *ὑμῶν·* Br.; *ὑμῶν*. H., W.
300. *φθορεῖς* Br.; *φθορεῖς*, H.
301. *λύκους* Br.; *λύκους*, H.
302. *ἀνομίας*, J., Br.; *ἀνομίας* H., Ha.
303. *παραδώσουσι*, Br.; *παραδώσουσι*. H.
308. *δοκιμασίας* Br.; *δοκιμασίας*, H., Ha.
309. *ἀπολοῦνται*, Br.; *ἀπολοῦνται·* Ha.
312. *πρῶτον*, Br.; *πρῶτον* H., Ha.
315. *νεκρῶν·* Br.; *νεκρῶν*, H.

Table III.

Title: Zahn proposes . . . *ἀποστόλων. Τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* (*Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, July 11, 1884). The last two words would then be a special sub-title.

LINE

22. *οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.* Ha., p. 6, *καίπερ δυνάμενος.*

23 sq., cf. 32 sq. Ha. questions (pp. 7, 8) whether there is here an interpolation. See also Orris, *Independent*, July 3, 1884.

32. *ἱδρωσάτῳ.* H. suggests *ἱερωσάτω* (*Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1885, I., p. 81, n. His text gives *ἱδρυσάτω*, see Table I.). Potwin (*Bib. Sacra.*, Oct., 1884, p. 817, n.) proposes *ἱερωτάτῃ, i.e., sacrosancta.* Zahn (*Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, June 27, 1884) suggests *μὴ δραχθήτω* (*?*).

38. *φθορᾷ.* Fitzgerald suggests *ὑστέρᾳ.*

51. *αὐτοῦ.* Ha. (marg.), *αὐτῷ* (*?*) (cf. Const.).

97. *διδάξεις.* Ha. (marg.), *διδάξεις αὐτούς* (cf. Const.).

181. *ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτ.* Zahn suggests *ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ βαπτ.* (*Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, June 27, 1884).

217, 218. Zahn proposes (*ib.*) *οὗ μενεῖ δέ, ἡμέραν μίαν* (*sc. μενέτω*).

234, 235. Zahn proposes (*ib.*) *ποιῶν μυστήριον κοσμικὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίας* (*or ἐκκλησίαν*). For *κοσμικὸν* Petersen (*Lehre d. zwölf Apostel*, p. 8) suggests *κόσμιον* (*?*).

LINE

" 244. Ha. (marg.) suggests *καὶ δύνασθε γνῶναι δεξίαν κ.τ.λ.* (Const.).

270. *τὴν.* Ha. (marg.), *τινὰ* (Gebh.).

285 sq. Ha. questions whether text is not corrupt.

311. *καταθέματος*, etc. Br. suggests *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος*. In a letter to Harnack (Harn., p. 63) he gives this up, and holds to text as printed.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ

ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

ΔΙΔΑΧΗ

ΤΩΝ

ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Κεφ. α'. Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη· Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις,

TEACHING

OF THE

TWELVE APOSTLES.

TEACHING OF THE LORD, THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES, TO THE NATIONS.

CHAP. I.—Two ways there are, one of life and one of death, but there is a great difference between the two ways. The way of life, then, is this: First, thou shalt love the God who made thee; secondly, thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have befall thee, thou, too, do not to another. Now of these words the teaching is this: Bless them that curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you: for what thank *have ye* if ye

ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τις σοι δῷ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι. Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἱνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὴ εἴρηται· Ἱδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς.

Κεφ. β'. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις,

love them that love you? Do not the nations also the same? But love ye them that hate you and ye shall have no enemy. Abstain from the fleshly and worldly lusts. If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one compel thee to go one mile, go with him two; if any one take thy cloak, give him thy tunic also; if any one take from thee what is thine, ask it not back; for indeed thou canst not. To every one that asketh thee give, and ask not back; for to all the Father desireth to have given of his own gracious gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment; for he is guiltless; woe to him that receiveth; for if, indeed, one receiveth who hath need, he shall be guiltless; but he who hath no need shall give account, why he took, and for what purpose, and coming under confinement shall be examined concerning what he did, and shall not go out thence until he pay the last farthing. But it hath been also said concerning this *matter*: Let thine alms sweat in thy hands, until thou knowest to whom thou shouldst give.

CHAP. II. — Now a second commandment of the teaching *is*: Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not

οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. Οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία. Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει. Οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς οὐδὲ κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.

Κεφ. γ'. Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπαοιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων,

commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use sorcery, thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, nor what is conceived shalt thou destroy. Thou shalt not lust after the things of thy neighbor, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not revile, thou shalt not be revengeful. Thou shalt not be doubled-minded nor doubled-tongued; for a snare of death is the double tongue. Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but filled with doing. Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite, nor malicious, nor arrogant. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor. Thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thy life.

CHAP. III.—My child, flee from every evil thing, and from everything like it. Be not prone to anger, for anger leadeth to murder; nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate; for of all these murders are begotten. My child, become not lustful; for lust leadeth to fornication; nor foul-mouthed, nor lofty-eyed; for of all these things adulteries are begotten. My child, become not an omen-watcher; since it leadeth into idolatry; nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier, nor

μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰδωλολατρεία γεννᾶται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. Ἴσθι δὲ πραΰς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχή σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Κεφ. δ'. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν. Οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ

be willing to look upon these things; for of all these things idolatry is begotten. My child, become not a liar; since lying leadeth to theft; nor avaricious, nor vain-glorious; for of all these things thefts are begotten. My child, become not a murmurer; since it leadeth to blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor evil-minded; for of all these things blasphemies are begotten. But be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Become long-suffering and merciful and guileless and gentle and good, and tremble continually at the words which thou hast heard. Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor permit over-boldness to thy soul. Thy soul shall not cleave to the high, but with the righteous and lowly thou shalt consort. The things that befall thee shalt thou accept as well wrought, knowing that without God nothing occurreth.

Chap. IV.—My child, him that speaketh to thee the word of God thou shalt remember night and day, and honor him as the Lord; for where that which pertaineth to the Lord is spoken there the Lord is. And thou shalt seek out daily the faces of the saints, that thou mayst be refreshed by their words. Thou shalt not desire division, but shalt make peace between those who contend; thou

πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. Οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς; Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεὶς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ

shalt judge justly, thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions. Thou shalt not hesitate whether it shall be or not. Be not *one who* for receiving stretcheth out the hands, but for giving draweth them in; if thou hast *anything*, by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur, for thou shalt know who is the good dispenser of the recompense. Thou shalt not turn away from the needy, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say they are thine own; for if ye are partners in that which is imperishable, how much more in the perishable things? Thou shalt not take off thy hand from thy son and from thy daughter, but from youth thou shalt teach *them* the fear of God Thou shalt not lay commands in thy bitterness upon thy bondman or bondmaid, who hope in the same God, lest they perchance shall not fear the God who is over *you* both; for he cometh not to call *men* according to the appearance, but to those whom the Spirit hath made ready. And ye, bondmen, ye shall be subject to your lords, as to God's image, in modesty and fear. Thou shalt hate every hypocrisy, and whatever is not pleasing to the Lord. Thou shalt by no means forsake the Lord's commandments, but shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding to it nor taking from it. In the church

προσευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

Κεφ. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακεῖαι, ἁρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία· διῶκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, παντὸς ἁμαρτήτοι· ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἁπάντων.

Κεφ. ς'. Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς Θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.

thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and shalt not draw near for thy prayer with an evil conscience. This is the way of life.

CHAP. V.—But the way of death is this: first of all it is evil, and full of curse; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, sorceries, robberies, false testimonies, hypocrisies, duplicity, craft, arrogance, malice, self-will, greed, foul speech, jealousy, over-boldness, haughtiness, pretence; persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, knowing not the reward of righteousness, not cleaving to *that which is* good nor to righteous judgment, on the watch not for good but for evil; far from whom are meekness and patience, loving vanities, pursuing revenge, not pitying a poor *man*, not toiling for one in distress, not knowing him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of God's workmanship, turning away from the needy, oppressing the afflicted, advocates of the rich, lawless judges of the poor, universal sinners: may ye be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAP. VI.—See that no one lead thee astray from this way of the teaching, because apart from God doth

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν
τοῦ Κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ
τοῦτο ποίει. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι
βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσ-
εχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι Θεῶν νεκρῶν.

Κεφ. ζ'. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·
ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ
ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου
Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς
ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ
δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα
μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς
ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.
Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπ-
τίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύ-
νανται· κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζό-
μενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

Κεφ. η'. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν
ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββά-
των καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετ-
ράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε
ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος
ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε·

he teach thee. For if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do. And concerning food, what thou art able, bear; but of that offered to idols, beware exceedingly; for it is a worship of dead gods.

CHAP. VII.—Now concerning baptism, thus baptize ye: having first uttered all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living water. But if thou hast not living water, baptize in other water; and if thou canst not in cold, *then* in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water upon the head thrice, into the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism let the baptizer and the baptized fast, and whatever others can; but the baptized thou shalt command to fast for one or two days before.

CHAP. VIII.—But let not your fastings be in common with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth; but do ye fast during the fourth, and the preparation *day*. Nor pray ye like the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Κεφ. θ'. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω

gospel, thus pray: Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth; our daily bread give us to-day, and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors, and bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Three times in the day pray ye thus.

CHAP. IX.—Now concerning the Eucharist, thus give thanks; first, concerning the cup: We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. And concerning the broken *bread*: We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Just as this broken *bread* was scattered over the hills and having been gathered together became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever. But let no one eat

μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Κεφ. ι'. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.

or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptized into the name of the Lord; for in regard to this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAP. X.—Now after ye are filled thus do ye give thanks: We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee be the glory forever. Thou, Master Almighty, didst create all things for thy name's sake; both food and drink thou didst give to men for enjoyment, in order that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and eternal life through thy servant. Before all things, we thank thee that thou art mighty; to thee be the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in thy love, and gather it from the four winds, *it*, the sanctified, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to

Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαραναθά. Ἀμήν. Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

Κεφ. ια'. Ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα, τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν Κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὕτω ποιήσατε. Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰμὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ

the son of David! Whoever is holy, let him come; whoever is not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen. But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will.

CHAP. XI.—Now whoever cometh and teacheth you all these things, before spoken, receive him; but if the teacher himself turn aside and teach another teaching, so as to overthrow *this*, do not hear him; but *if he teach* so as to promote righteousness and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. But in regard to the apostles and prophets, according to the ordinance of the gospel, so do ye. And every apostle who cometh to you, let him be received as the Lord; but he shall not remain *except for* one day; if, however, there be need, then the next *day*; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet. But when the apostle departeth, let him take nothing except bread enough till he lodge *again*; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. And every prophet who speaketh in the spirit, ye shall not try nor judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not every one that speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but *only* if he have the ways of the Lord. So from their ways shall the false prophet

ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τρά-
πεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰδὲ
μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης
διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἃ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ,
ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκι-
μασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμι-
κὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς
ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ
ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ
ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται. Ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι·
Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε
αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ
δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

Κεφ. ιβ'. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου δεχ-
θήτω, ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε·
σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. Εἰμὲν
παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον
δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ
τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ᾖ ἀνάγκη. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς
ὑμᾶς καθῆσαι, τεχνίτης ὤν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ
φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν
ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσε-
ται χριστιανός. Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χρισ-
τέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

and the prophet be known. And no prophet who orders a meal, in the spirit, eateth of it, unless indeed he is a false prophet; and every prophet who teacheth the truth, if he do not that which he teacheth, is a false prophet. But every prophet, proved, true, acting with a view to the mystery of the church on earth, but not teaching *others* to do all that he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you; for with God he hath his judgment; for so did the ancient prophets also. But whoever, in the spirit, saith: Give me money, or something else, ye shall not hear him; but if for others in need, he bids *you* give, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII.—But let every one that cometh in the Lord's name be received, but afterward ye shall test and know him; for ye shall have understanding, right and left. If he who cometh is a traveller, help him as much as ye can; but he shall not remain with you, unless for two or three days, if there be necessity. But if he will take up his abode among you, being an artisan, let him work and so eat; but if he have no trade, provide, according to your understanding, that no idler live with you as a Christian. But if he will not act according to this, he is one who maketh gain out of Christ; beware of such.

Κεφ. ιγ'. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτός, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἅλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. Ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. Ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἄν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

Κεφ. ιδ'. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾖ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κυρίου· Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

CHAP. XIII.—But every true prophet who will settle among you is worthy of his support. Likewise a true teacher, he also is worthy, like the workman, of his support. Every firstfruit, then, of the products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your high-priests. But if ye have no prophet, give *it* to the poor. If thou makest a baking of bread, take the first *of it* and give according to the commandment. In like manner when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the first *of it* and give to the prophets; and of money and clothing and every possession take the first, as may seem right to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV.—But on the Lord's day do ye assemble and break bread, and give thanks, after confessing your transgressions, in order that your sacrifice may be pure. But every one that hath controversy with his friend, let him not come together with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be profaned. For this is that which was spoken by the Lord: At every place and time, bring me a pure sacrifice; for a great king am I, saith the Lord, and my name is marvellous among the nations.

Κεφ. ιε'. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργί-αν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. Μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ. Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγε-λίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Κεφ. ις'. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται. Πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκον-τα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχά-ταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα

CHAP. XV.—Now appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not avaricious, and upright and proved; for they, too, render you the service of the prophets and teachers. Therefore neglect them not; for they are the ones who are honored of you, together with the prophets and teachers.

And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the gospel; and to every one who erreth against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear *anything* from you, until he repent. But your prayers and your alms and all your deeds so do ye, as ye have *it* in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAP. XVI.—Watch for your life's sake; let your lamps not go out, and your loins not be loosed, but be ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh. But ye shall come together often, and seek the things which befit your souls; for the whole time of your faith *thus far* will not profit you, if ye be not made perfect in the last time. For in the last days the false prophets and the corruptors shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love

εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· ἀὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος. Τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἥξει ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. Τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν Κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

shall be turned into hate; for when lawlessness increaseth they shall hate one another, and shall persecute and shall deliver up, and then shall appear the world-deceiver as Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be given into his hands, and he shall commit iniquities which have never yet been done since the beginning. Then all created men shall come into the fire of trial, and many shall be made to stumble and shall perish. But they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under even this curse. And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first the sign of an opening in heaven, then the sign of a trumpet's sound, and thirdly, the resurrection of the dead; yet not of all, but as it hath been said: The Lord will come and all the saints with him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

NOTES.

THE TITLE.

Our document has two titles: "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles;" and "Teaching of the Lord, through the Twelve Apostles, to the Nations." Neither title implies a claim to Apostolic authorship. Clement of Alexandria (d. about 220 A.D.) cites it as Scripture (Strom. i. p. 319), quoting from the third chapter. But Athanasius (d. 373 A.D.) refers to it (39th Festal Epistle, Migne ii. p. 1437) as the "So-called Teaching of the Apostles," Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν Ἀποστόλων, as Eusebius, using the plural Διδαχαί, had done before (Hist. iii. 25). Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 828 A.D.), calls it simply Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων, including it in his list of the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament, and adding that it contained 200 lines (Migne C. p. 1060). This shorter title reappears among the "disputed" Books of the New Testament in the "Synopsis of Holy Scripture," wrongly ascribed to Athanasius (see Migne iv. p. 432), and assigned by Credner to the tenth century. The manuscript found by Bryennios, it will be remembered, is of the eleventh century (1056 A.D.).

CHAP. I.

This chapter contains two words not found in the New Testament, and two words not used in the New Testament sense.

NOTES.

P. 2, l. 3.—"Two ways there are, one of life, and one of death"] Cremer cites a passage from Lucian, in which ὁδός stands for a philosophical system or school. In the Septuagint, ὁδός is used in a religious sense. It has this sense also in some twelve of the hundred or more places where it occurs in the New Testament. The particular form of expression employed here ("the way of life," and "the way of death") may be found in Jeremiah xxi. 8. In Matt. vii. 13, 14, we read of the way that leadeth "to destruction" (εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν), and the way that leadeth "unto life" (εἰς τὴν ζωήν). In the Apostolic Constitutions, vii. 1, the form is the same as here. But in the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. xviii., the two ways are the way "of light" (τοῦ φωτὸς), and the way "of darkness" (τοῦ σκότους). In the Shepherd of Hermas, Mand. vi. 1, we have the "straight" or righteous (ἡ ὀρθή) way, and "the crooked" or perverse (ἡ στρεβλή) way. In the tenth of the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," the two ways are ways καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ, "of good and evil." *Duæ Viæ*, "The Two Ways," was the alternative title of the Apocryphal *Judicium Petri*, which was probably identical (as Grabe, in 1714, was the first to conjecture) with the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου.

P. 2, l. 4.—"difference"] διαφορά is classic Greek (Thucydides iii. 10), occurring also in the Septuagint, but is not found in the New Testament; and the corresponding adjective occurs but twice (Rom. xii. 6; Heb. ix. 10).

P. 2, l. 8.—"do not to another"] The Confucian Ethics should not be disparaged for giving us the Golden Rule in a negative form. The negative form is found not only here, but also in the Apostolic Constitutions vii. 2; in Tobit iv. 15 ("what thou hatest, that do to no man"); and in Clement of Alexandria, Strom. ii. p. 421.

P. 2, l. 11.—"fast for them that persecute you"] The emphasis put upon fasting, here and elsewhere in this document, is no proof of Montanism, since fasting was much empha-

sized in the early Church, and Montanism itself was, in this respect, only an exaggeration of common sentiment and usage. Nor is it any indication of a later date than the middle of the second century. Fasting is emphasized in the New Testament. Three words occur, in all, 28 times: *νηστεύω*, 18 times; *νηστεία*, 8 times; and *νῆστις* twice. In Barnabas, two of these words (*νηστεύω* and *νηστεία*) occur 7 times. In the Shepherd of Hermas the same two words occur 12 times. In this regard the early Church was clearly and eminently Biblical.

P. 4, l. 15.—"ye shall have no enemy"] Suggested, perhaps, by 1 Pet. iii. 13, "And who is he that will harm you, if ye be zealous of that which is good?" Clement of Alexandria (Strom. ii. p. 404) cites Homer as saying, "Give to thy friend; but an enemy must be aided, that he may not continue to be an enemy."

P. 4, l. 15. 16.—"Abstain from the fleshly and worldly lusts"] Bryennios has changed the reading from *σωματικῶν* to *σαρκικῶν*. Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 11. Harnack adheres to *σωματικῶν*.

P. 4, l. 18.—"thou shalt be perfect"] *τέλειος*. See Matt. v. 48; xix. 21.

P. 4, l. 22.—"for indeed thou canst not"] Because Christians had been forbidden to "go to law before the unrighteous," 1 Cor. vi. 1. Comp. Apost. Const. ii. 46.

P. 4, l. 25.—"Blessed is he that giveth"] See Acts xx. 35, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

P. 4, l. 26.—"woe to him that receiveth"] The passage corresponding to this in the Apost. Const. iv. 3, reads: "Woe to them that have, and who receive in hypocrisy, or are able to support themselves, and wish to receive from others; for both of them shall give account to the Lord God in the day of judgment." See 2 Thess. iii. 10, "If any will not work, neither let him eat."

P. 4, l. 28.—"shall give account"] *δώσει δίκην*. See Thucydides i. 28, *δίκας ἤθελον δοῦναι*, "they were willing to submit the

cause to be judged." So also once or twice in the Septuagint: for instance, Ps. ix. 5, "Thou hast maintained . . . my cause" (*τὴν δίκην μου*). But in the New Testament *δίκη* means either "sentence" (Acts xxv. 15), or "punishment" (2 Thess. i. 9).

P. 4, l. 29.—"under confinement"] *ἐν συνοχῇ*. The word occurs but twice in the New Testament. In Luke xxi. 25 it is rendered "distress;" in 2 Cor. ii. 4 it is rendered "anguish." In two places in the Septuagint (Jer. lii. 5; Micah v. 1) it means "siege." And in Josephus, Ant. viii. 3. 2, we read of "thirty small rooms which might include the whole temple" (*αἳ συνοχή*, "which might be an enclosure"). Here it means imprisonment.

P. 4, l. 32.—"Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou shouldst give"] Perhaps with the idea of adhering to the hands by sweating, *εἰς* often having the significance of "to." A homely but graphic injunction of carefulness in giving. Only the noun, *ἱδρώς*, occurs, and that but once, in the New Testament. See Luke xxii. 44. The verb is Homeric. Compare Sirach xii. 1, "When thou wilt do good, know to whom thou doest it; so shalt thou be thanked for thy benefits."

CHAP. II.

This chapter contains seven words not found in the New Testament, and one word not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 4, l. 36.—"thou shalt not corrupt boys"] A very prevalent heathen immorality, forbidden in Lev. xviii. 22, and denounced by Paul in Rom. i. 27. In classic Greek *παιδεραστέω* is the verb employed. The verb here used, *παιδοφορέω*, occurs also in Barnabas chap. xix.; Apost. Const. vii. 2; Justin Martyr Dial. c. Try. § 95; and in Clement of Alexandria Cohortatio ad Gentes (Migne i. 225), and in three other places.

P. 6, l. 37.—"thou shalt not use sorcery"] Only the nouns, *φαρμακεία*, *φαρμακός*, and perhaps *φαρμακεύς* (Rev. xxi. 8), occur in the New Testament. The verb is found in Herodotus (vii. 114), in the Septuagint, and in the Apost. Const. (vii. 3).

P. 6, l. 38, 39.—"thou shalt not slay a child by abortion, nor what is conceived shalt thou destroy"] *φθορά* occurs in the New Testament, in the Septuagint, and in classic Greek, but not in the sense of "abortion." This later sense appears in the Apost. Const. vii. 3; in Barnabas, chap. xix.; and in other early Christian writings. In Clement of Alexandria, Pæd. ii. p. 194, we find (in oblique cases) *φθορά*, "abortion," and *φθόρια φάρμακα*, "drugs to procure abortion;" the adjective, *φθόρια*, having been used by Hippocrates (d. 357 B.C.). As for *γεννηθέν*, by itself it may of course be rendered "born," or "brought forth;" in which case infanticide would be the crime forbidden. But infanticide was simply murder, as Tertullian very forcibly puts it in the ninth chapter of his Apology. Constantine's law against it (in 315 A.D.) was for the State, not for the Church (see Codex Theodosianus xi. 27. 1). The thing here forbidden was abortion at any stage of development. This is suggested in the Apost. Const. vii. 3, where it is added: "For everything that is *shaped*, and hath received a soul from God, if it be slain, shall be avenged, as being unjustly destroyed" (*ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθέν*). Tertullian, in the passage just referred to, calls "that a man which is going to be one" (Homo est et qui est futurus). In Matt. i. 20 *γεννηθὲν* is rendered "conceived." The Patristic understanding of *γεννηθὲν* as merely "begotten," or "conceived," appears distinctly in Canon XXI. of the Council of Ancyra (314 A.D.), which begins thus: *Περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐκπορνευουσῶν καὶ ἀναιρουσῶν τα γεννώμενα, καὶ σπουδαζουσῶν φθόρια ποιεῖν*, "Concerning women who commit fornication, and who destroy that which they have conceived, or who are employed in making drugs for abortion." Such women would have to undergo ten years of penance.

P. 6, l. 41.—"thou shalt not be revengeful"] *μνησικακήσεις.* This verb is not found in the New Testament, but occurs in Herodotus viii. 29 (*οὐ μνησικακέομεν,* "we are willing to forget our wrongs"); five times in the Septuagint; and twice in Barnabas (chap. ii., and chap. xix.); as also in Hermas, and in the Epistle to Diognetus.

P. 6, l. 41, 42.—"thou shalt not be double minded nor double-tongued"] *δίγνωμος* would have been classical, but *διγνώμων* does not occur in classic Greek nor in the New Testament, though found in Apost. Const. vii. 4; and in Barnabas, chap. xix. *Δίγλωσσος* is found in Thucydides viii. 85, where it means "speaking both languages" (*i.e.*, Greek and Persian). The LXX use it in the sense of "deceitful," as in Prov. xi. 13; Sirach v. 9, and in three other places. The noun, *διγλωσσία,* not in the New Testament, is found in Barnabas (xix.).

P. 6, l. 44—"filled with doing"] *i.e.*, works, deeds, as in Matt. xvi. 27.

P. 6, l. 45.—"nor malicious"] The noun, *κακοηθεία,* is found in the New Testament (Rom. i. 29), but not the adjective, *κακοήθης,* which is wanting likewise in the Septuagint, but occurs in Plato and Aristotle, as also in Apost. Const. vii. 5.

P. 6, l. 47.—"Thou shalt hate no man"] *οὐ . . . πᾶς,* instead of *οὐδείς,* is a Hebraism, occurring not very frequently in the New Testament.

P. 6, l. 49.—"above thy life"] *ψυχήν.* Comp. Phil. ii. 30; Rev. xii. 11.

CHAP. III.

This chapter contains twelve words (mostly adjectives) not found in the New Testament; five of them not found in classic Greek, and only four of them in the Septuagint. There is also one New Testament word not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 6, l. 50, 51.—"flee from every evil thing, and from every

thing like it"] Comp. 1 Thess. v. 22, "abstain from every form of evil."

P. 6, l. 52, 3.—"nor jealous"] ζηλωτὴς in the New Testament indicates only zeal. But the bad sense appears both in the noun (ζῆλος), and in the verb (ζηλόω). In the Septuagint it is used five times in rendering the Hebrew אֵל קַנָּא ["God is a jealous God"].

P. 6, l. 53.—"nor contentious nor passionate"] The noun, ἔρις (Phil. i. 15), is found in the New Testament, but not ἐριστικὸς. So also the noun, θυμός (Luke iv. 28), but not θυμικός. Both words are classical.

P. 6, l. 56.—"nor foul-mouthed"] The verb αἰσχρολογέω appears first in Plato, and the corresponding noun appears first in Xenophon, as also in Col. iii. 8. But, outside of ecclesiastical Greek, the adjective, αἰσχρολόγος, appears for the first time in the Onomasticon of Pollux (about 175 A.D.). In the Septuagint we find neither the noun nor the adjective.

P. 6, l. 56, 57.—"nor lofty-eyed"] ὑψηλόφθαλμος is peculiar to our document. The classic word is ὑψηλόφρων, which in Plato has the sense of "high-spirited," and in Euripides the sense of "haughty." The classic ὑψηλόφρων is used in the Shepherd of Hermas, Sim. viii. 9. 1; and in the Apost. Const. vii. 6.

P. 6, l. 58.—"an omen-watcher"] The classical word is οἰωνιστὴς in Homer (Il. ii. 858), and οἰωνοσκόπος in Euripides. Neither word occurs either in the Septuagint or in the New Testament. The noun οἰωνοσκοπία occurs in Diodorus Siculus, v. 31 (about 8 B.C.).

P. 6, l. 59, 60.—"nor an enchanter"] The word here used is found in the Septuagint, Ex. vii. 11, 22. The classical form is ἐπῳδός.

P. 6, l. 60.—"nor an astrologer"] μαθηματικός, in this sense, occurs frequently in Sextus Empiricus, the first half of the third century. The corresponding passage in the Apost. Const.

vii. 6, reads: *οὐδὲ μαθήσῃ μαθήματα πονηρά*. Latin writers, both heathen and Christian, of the second century, used *mathematicus* in the same way.

P. 6, l. 60.—"nor a purifier"] Referring to some kind of superstitious lustration, perhaps by fire, as in Lev. xviii. 21; Deut. xviii. 10. *Περικαθαίρων* is classical, and is used by the LXX in Deut. xviii. 10.

P. 8, l. 62.—"My child, become not a liar; since lying leadeth to theft"] This is the passage cited as "Scripture" by Clement of Alexandria pp. 319, 20.

P. 8, l. 66.—"become not a murmurer"] The word employed here is found also in Apost. Const. vii. 7. The New Testament word is *γογγυστής* (in the plural), Jude 16.

P. 8, l. 67.—"nor evil-minded"] Not classical, nor in the Septuagint. The same word occurs in Apost. Const. vii. 7.

P. 8, l. 70.—"long-suffering"] The corresponding verb, noun, and adverb, all occur in the New Testament, but not the adjective, *μακρόθυμος*, as here, and in Apost. Const. vii. 8. It is not classical, but occurs eighteen times in the Septuagint.

P. 8, l. 73.—"overboldness"] *θράσος*, not found in the New Testament, but in Homer Il. xiv. 416; Herodotus vii. 9; in the Septuagint; and in Apost. Const. vii. 8. According to Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics iii. 10, the brave man, *ὁ ἀνδρεῖος*, occupies middle ground between the coward, *ὁ δειλός*, and the rash man, *ὁ θρασύς*.

P. 8, l. 75, 76.—"The things that befall thee accept as well wrought"] See Apost. Const. vii. 8. Also Sirach ii. 4, "Whatever is brought upon thee take cheerfully." Compare Heb. xii. 7–11.

P. 8, l. 77.—"without God"] *i.e.*, without his will. *Ἄτερ* is a poetic word (see Homer Il. xv. 292), but is used in 2 Macc. xii. 15, and occurs in Dionysius Halicarnassus (about 30 B.C.). Used also by Clement of Alexandria, Str. vi. p. 678. It occurs only twice in the New Testament (Luke xxii. 6, 35). In Barnabas (xix.) the preposition is *ἄνευ*.

CHAP. IV.

In this chapter are five, perhaps six words (two of which are not classical) not found in the New Testament, and three other words not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 8, l. 79.—"thou shalt remember"] *μιμνήσκω* is a New Testament word, but this particular form of it (*μνησθήσῃ*) appears to have been taken from the Septuagint, where it frequently occurs.

P. 8, l. 80.—"where that which pertaineth to the Lord"] *ὅθεν* is rendered "where," as in Matt. xxv. 24, 26; *κυριότης*, without the article, occurs four times in the New Testament (Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Jude 8; 2 Pet. ii. 10), and, in all the four places, is rendered "dominion" by the Revisers. The word is not classical, and the article suggests some peculiar meaning, which may be inferred from the corresponding passage in the Apost. Const. vii. 9, which reads: *ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ Θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ Θεὸς παρέστιν*, "for where the teaching concerning God is, there God is present." Compare Rom. xv. 17, *τὰ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, "things pertaining to God."

P. 8, l. 82, 83.—"that thou mayst be refreshed by their words"] *ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ*, lit., "that thou mayst rest upon," as in Rom. ii. 17. The same phrase occurs in Apost. Const. vii. 9.

P. 8, l. 83.—"Thou shalt not desire division"] *ἐπιποθέω* is a New Testament word, but not *ποθέω*, which, however, is classical, and in the Septuagint. The *οὐ ποιήσεις*, "thou shalt not make," of Barnabas (chap. xix.), and of Apost. Const. (vii. 10) is, perhaps, the better reading.

P. 8, l. 83, 84.—"shalt make peace"] In the New Testament, *εἰρηνεύω*, which occurs four times (Mark ix. 50; Rom. xii. 18; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; 1 Thess. v. 13), is intransitive only. But in Clement of Rome (95 A.D.), and in the *Duæ Viæ*, as here, the verb is transitive. So also once at least in the Septuagint (1 Mac. vi. 60).

NOTES.

P. 10, l. 85, 86.—"hesitate"] The adjective, *δίψυχος*, is used by Philo (40 A.D.); in the New Testament (James i. 8; iv. 8); and in the Apost. Const. vii. 11. The verb here used, *διψυχέω*, found neither in classic Greek nor in the New Testament, occurs in Clement of Rome chap. xxiii.; in Barnabas chap. xix.; in the Shepherd of Hermas (some 12 times); and in Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444 A.D.).

P. 10, l. 87.—"for receiving stretcheth out the hands, but for giving draweth them in"] Graphic description of receiving and giving. *Συσπῶν* is not a New Testament word; nor does it occur in the Septuagint. The corresponding passage in Apost. Const. vii. 11, has *συστέλλων*. So likewise in the Septuagint, Sirach iv. 31, "Let not thy hand be stretched out to receive, and withdrawn (*συνεσταλμένη*) when thou shouldest repay." But *συσπῶν* is found in Plato and Aristotle; and in later writers like Lucian.

P. 10, l. 88, 89.—"by thy hands thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins"] Beneficence is better than sacrifice. See Prov. xvi. 6, "By mercy and truth iniquity is purged." See also Dan. iv. 27 (in Sept. iv. 24), *καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων*, "and ransom thy sins by alms, and thy transgressions by mercies to the poor." *Λύτρωσις*, occurring, with its compounds and equivalents, some 19 times in the New Testament, is the generic word for "ransom," "deliverance;" *ἱλασμός* being the word for "expiation," and *καταλλαγή* the word for "reconciliation." It is not here taught that alms are an atonement for sin.

P. 10, l. 91.—"dispenser"] *ἀνταποδότης* does not occur in classic Greek, nor in the New Testament, but is found in Apost. Const. vii. 12; and in Barnabas (xix.). The corresponding verb, however, with two kindred nouns, occurs both in the Septuagint and in the New Testament.

P. 10, l. 92.—"the needy"] The verb *ἐνδέομαι*, which is classical, occurs in the Septuagint, but not in the New Testa-

ment. The participle occurs in Apost. Const. vii. 12. The New Testament ἐνδεής (Acts iv. 34) occurs three times in the Shepherd of Hermas.

P. 10, l. 94.—"imperishable"] ἀθάνατος is of frequent occurrence in classic Greek, and is found twice in the Septuagint. The New Testament word is ἄφθαρτος, which occurs seven times.

P. 10, l. 98.—"bondman or bondmaid"] See, in Septuagint, Lev. xxv. 44, καὶ παῖς καὶ παιδίσκη . . . δοῦλον καὶ δούλην. As in the New Testament, so here, the relation of master and slave is not denounced, but regulated.

CHAP. V.

This chapter contains eight words (one a repetition) not found in the New Testament, two of which are not classical, and one not used in the New Testament sense. This catalogue of evil things pertaining to "the way of death," reflects only too faithfully the dreadful corruption of the ancient civilization.

P. 12, l. 116.—"duplicity"] διπλόη, in the secondary sense of "duplicity," is found in Plutarch. The word here used (not classical) occurs also in Apost. Const. vii. 18; and in Barnabas (chap. xx.). It is not found in the Septuagint.

P. 12, l. 117.—"self-will"] The adjective, αὐθάδης, occurs twice in the New Testament (Tit. i. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 10). The noun is used by Aristotle; and is found twice in Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xxx. and lvii.); once in Barnabas (chap. xx.); twice in Hermas (Sim. ix. 22. 2, 3); and in Apost. Const. vii. 18.

P. 12, l. 118.—"jealousy"] ζηλοτυπία does not occur in the New Testament, but is found in classic Greek, in the Septuagint, and in the Apost. Const. vii. 18.

P. 12, l. 118.—"over-boldness"] θρασύτης is classical, but not in the Septuagint.

P. 12, l. 125.—"toiling"] *i.e.*, working hard. The verb πονέω

is classical and in the Septuagint, but only the noun, πόνος, is found in the New Testament.

P. 12, l. 127.—"destroyers of God's workmanship"] *i.e.*, by abortion. Φθορεῖς, possibly, is classical, Brunck reading it in Sophocles, but the word is not found in the Septuagint, nor in the New Testament. It was used by Philo (40 A.D.), and is found in Barnabas (chap. xx.), and in the Apost. Const. vii. 18.

P. 12, l. 128.—"the needy"] ἐνδεόμενον, not found in the New Testament, but previously used, P. 10, l. 92. The verb occurs twice in the Septuagint.

P. 12, l. 130.—"universal sinners"] παναμάρτητοι, found neither in the New Testament nor in classic Greek; but occurring in Barnabas (chap. xx.), and in the Apost. Const. vii. 18. It may have been suggested by the πᾶν ἁμάρτημα of 1 Cor. vi. 18.

CHAP. VI.

This chapter has one word not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 12, l. 133.—"apart from God"] παρεκτός, which is not classical, occurs three times in the New Testament (Matt. v. 32; Acts xxvi. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 28), and by our translators is rendered differently in each case. It is not found either in Barnabas or in Hermas. Aquila of Pontus (first half of the second century) uses it in translating Deut. i. 36, where the LXX use πλήν. It occurs also in the 40th Canon of the Council of Laodicea in Phrygia (about 360 A.D.), in the sense of "unless." The idea here is that of separation from God, and disagreement with him.

P. 14, l. 136, 7.—"And concerning food, what thou art able, bear"] "Nothing is unclean of itself," as Paul says in Rom. xiv. 14. And again in 1 Tim. iv. 4, "For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be rejected, if it be received with thanksgiving."

P. 14, l. 137, 8.—"but of that offered to idols beware exceedingly"] The same strictness appears in Apost. Const. vii. 21. Paul was less rigorous, 1 Cor. x. 25.

CHAP. VII.

This chapter contains two words not found in the New Testament.

P. 14, l. 139.—"Now concerning baptism, thus baptize"] In classic Greek, *βαπτίζω* means primarily to "merse," its Latin equivalent being *mergo*. The essential idea is that of envelopment, with no suggestion of emergence from the condition indicated. Polybius, for example, describing a naval battle between the Romans and Carthaginians, says of the Carthaginians (Hist. i. 51. 6) *πολλὰ τῶν σκαφῶν ἐβάπτιζον*, "they baptized (sank) many of the ships" [of the Romans].

In the Septuagint, the verb, *βαπτίζω*, occurs only four times, and the noun, *βαπτισμός*, not at all. The first of the four passages is Is. xxi. 4, the original Hebrew of which is translated by Delitzsch, "my heart beats wildly, horror hath troubled me." The LXX have rendered it, *ἡ καρδία μοῦ πλανᾶται, καὶ ἡ ἀνομία με βαπτίζει*, "my heart wanders, and iniquity baptizes (overwhelms) me." In 2 Kings v. 10, according to the Hebrew, Naaman is told to "go and wash (*rahats*) seven times in the Jordan." The LXX translate *rahats* by *λούω*, which means properly to "wash the body," and which does not require submersion. See Herodotus iii. 23, *ἐπὶ κρήνην . . . ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι*, "to a fountain . . . from which when they had washed." In the 15th verse, according to the Hebrew, Naaman went and "dipped (*tabal*) himself seven times in the Jordan." The Septuagint says, *ἐβαπτίσατο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἑπτάκις*, "baptized himself in the Jordan seven times." Our English version, made from the Hebrew, very properly says "dipped." In fourteen other passages *tabal* is rendered in the Septuagint by *βάπτω*, as it

should have been here, and as it probably would have been but for *rahats* in the 10th verse. In short, our version is true to the Hebrew, which says "dipped," but not true to the Septuagint, which says "baptized" (or washed). The other two passages in which βαπτίζω occurs are in two of the Apocryphal Books, whose Hebrew originals, allowing them to have existed, have long since perished. In Judith xii. 7, it is said of Judith, that she "went out by night into the valley of Bethulia, and baptized (washed) herself in the camp at the fountain of water," ἐβαπτίζετο ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος. Finally, in Sirach xxxi. 25, we read, βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἁπτόμενος αὐτοῦ, τί ὠφέλησε τῷ λουτρῷ αὐτοῦ, "Being baptized from a dead body, and touching it again, what availeth his washing?" For purification from a dead body, see Num. xix. 11–19, which prescribes sprinkling on the third day, and, on the seventh day, sprinkling, washing of the clothes, and bathing. Βαπτίζω and λούω were evidently considered synonymous, and might properly be used in rendering *rahats*. But the proper rendering for *tabal* (to dip) was βάπτω, and not βαπτίζω.

And so the transition was easy to New Testament usage. Βαπτίζω no longer meant merely to "merse," nor even merely to "wash," but to "baptize," *i.e.*, apply water as a symbolic purifying act. Baptism, accordingly, is a generic term. So in Heb. ix. 10 we read of "divers washings," or baptisms, διαφόροις βαπτισμοῖς (comp. Heb. vi. 2). These "baptisms" included the dipping into water of certain vessels (Lev. xi. 32), the washing of clothes (Lev. xi. 40), the washing of hands and feet (Ex. xxx. 19–21), and the sprinkling with purifying water (Num. viii. 6, 7; xix. 2–19). See Lightfoot (*Horæ Talmudicæ*) on Mark vii. 4, where he says: "The word, therefore, βαπτισμούς, 'washings,' applied to all these, properly and strictly is not to be taken of *dipping* or *plunging*, but, in respect of some things, of *washing* only, and in respect of others, of sprinkling only."

P. 14, l. 142.—"in living water"] "Living water" is ge-

neric. It may mean the "flowing water" of a well or fountain, as in Gen. xxvi. 19, where we are told of Isaac's servants that they "digged in the valley and found there a well of springing water," ὕδατος ζῶντος. Comp. John iv. 10. Or it may mean "running water," as in Lev. xiv. 5, 50, where provision is made for the killing of a bird in an earthen vessel "over running water," ἐφ' ὕδατι ζῶντι. Probably running water is intended here. "In aquis perennibus" is the phraseology of the Clementine "Recognitions" (iii. 67), about 200 A.D. Of baptizing, or bathing, *in* a well or fountain we have nowhere any indication.

P. 14, l. 142, 3.—"If thou hast not living (running) water, baptize in other water"] εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ might of course be rendered "*into* other water;" but the context, both before and after (ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι and ἐν ψυχρῷ), seems to require "*in* other water" in this intermediate clause. Such a rendering of εἰς is justified by the best classical usage, as, for example, Homer's Il. xv. 275, 6, where the "well-maned lion" is described as having "appeared," εἰς ὁδὸν, "in the path."

P. 14, l. 143, 4.—"if thou canst not in cold, *then* in warm"] ἐν θερμῷ. The corresponding noun, θέρμη (Acts xxviii. 3), and the verb θερμαίνομαι, occur in the New Testament, but not the adjective. θερμός is both classical, and in the Septuagint. The "other water" might of course have been stagnant water somewhere out of doors; but is more likely to have been the water of a baptismal font. For this, fresh cold water was to be preferred, but warm water would answer the purpose; which might suggest the domestic bath.

P. 14, l. 144, 5.—"But if thou hast neither (*i.e.*, neither cold nor warm water in sufficient abundance), pour water upon the head (εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν) thrice"] This pouring would be "baptism." And such baptism might be performed anywhere, with no water to stand in, as was the case apparently in the prison at Philippi, Acts xvi. 33. If, under any circumstances,

baptism by pouring is valid baptism, then dipping is not the only mode, but merely one mode of two or more modes.

That dipping was the original mode is violently improbable. The dipping of three thousand persons in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, if not impossible, is not at all probable. The earliest versions (Itala and the Peshito) either simply transfer the word "baptize" without translating it, or use a word which has no reference whatever to the mode of applying water in the ceremony. The Syriac for a baptized person is *amamûd*, "one made to stand up," *i.e.*, like a pillar. As Dr. Van Dyck, of Beirut, expresses it, "The baptized person stood up, and declared himself fixed and determined upon a certain course, which was signified and sealed by pouring water upon the head, taken up with the hand of the baptizer." This is now the Syrian mode, practised both by Jacobites and Maronites, who say it has always been the Syrian mode. This fact, ascertained by the Crusaders (in the third Crusade, 1189–92), and made known through them in Europe, would help to account for Aquinas' (1274 A.D.) definition of baptism, so different from that of Peter Lombard about a century before. Lombard's definition required immersion; Aquinas' definition permitted either immersion, pouring, or sprinkling. A picture in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus, dating, according to De Rossi, from about the year 200 A.D., represents a youth standing ankle-deep in water, and receiving baptism by water poured from the hand of the baptizer. The water running down from the head is as distinctly indicated as the water in which both the baptized and the baptizer stand. [See Northcote and Brownlow's "Roma Sotterranea," 2d ed., 1879, Part II, Plate XV.] It may be said that the whole act of immersion cannot be represented pictorially. But it will hardly do to say that the picture in question is the closest practicable approach to such a representation. The Seventh Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, at this point (Section xxii), says nothing about the mode, but prescribes

anointing with oil, both before and after baptism. Fasting is enjoined in both documents. In the Clementine "Recognitions" (about 200 A.D.), "frequent fastings" for "three months" are enjoined upon candidates for baptism (iii. 67). Infant baptism is not referred to either in the "Teaching," or in the "Constitutions." The argument from silence, with respect to the latter document (of the third or fourth century), would prove too much. The compound verb *προνηστεύω*, though not found in the New Testament, nor in the Septuagint, is classical (see Herod. ii. 40).

CHAP. VIII.

This chapter has only one word not found in the New Testament.

P. 14, l. 151, 2.—"But let not your fastings be in common with the hypocrites"] The "hypocrites" here referred to are the Pharisees. See Luke xviii. 12, "I fast twice in the week." See also Epiphanius, Hær. xvi. 1. And compare Apost. Const. vii. 23.

P. 14, l. 152, 3.—"on the second day of the week and on the fifth"] An early Christian mode of naming days, justified by Matt. xxviii. 1, *εἰς μίαν σαββάτων*, "toward the first *day* of the week." The days here meant are Monday and Thursday. According to the Talmud, Thursday was the day on which Moses was supposed to have ascended Mount Sinai with the second Tables of the Law (Ex. xxxiv. 4), and Monday the day on which he returned (Ex. xxxiv. 29).

P. 14, l. 153, 4.—"but do ye fast during the fourth, and the preparation *day*"] Wednesday, the day on which Judas bargained to betray Christ; and Friday, the day of the crucifixion. *Τετράς* is not found in the New Testament. In the Septuagint (Haggai and Zechariah) it is used to indicate the day of the month. Here it means the fourth day of the week, as in Clement

of Alexandria, Stroma vii. p. 744. In the Septuagint (Ex. xxxv. 24; 2 Macc. xv. 21), and in Josephus, Jewish War, i. 11. 8, *παρασκευή* means simply "work," "service," or "preparation," as of arms, or of an entertainment. But in the Antiq. of Josephus (xvi. 6. 2) we have the record of an imperial edict (about 10 B.C.) directing that the Jews should not be required to go before any judge *ἐν σάββασιν, ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ, ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐννάτης*, "on Sabbaths, or on the Preparation day, after the ninth hour." In Matt. xxvii. 62; Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 14, 31, 42, "the Preparation" is the day before the Sabbath. And so *παρασκευή* (Lat. parasceve) became a Christian name for Friday. It appears in the Apost. Const. vii. 23; in the Martyrdom of Polycarp (about 155 A.D.), chap. vii.; and in Irenæus, Adv. Hær. i. 14. 6 (about 182–8 A.D.).

P. 16, l. 157–165.—The Lord's Prayer ends with the Doxology, substantially as it does in Matthew, instead of omitting it as in Luke. The Doxology is found likewise in Apost. Const. iii. 18; apparently, also, vii. 24; but is omitted by Cyril of Jerusalem, in his fifth Catechesis Mystagogica (about 347 A.D.). Westcott and Hort are of the opinion that it "originated in liturgical use in Syria," and so found its way "into the Greek and Syriac Syrian texts of the New Testament." This conjecture is of interest in its bearing upon the question of locality with respect to our document; but is not decisive.

P. 16, l. 161.—"our debt"] *ὀφειλή* is used in Matt. xviii. 32 of the unmerciful servant, but in Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer the plural *ὀφειλήματα* is used, and in Luke's version of it the plural of *ἁμαρτία* is used.

P. 16, l. 163, 4.—"but deliver us from the evil"] *τοῦ πονηροῦ* may be either masculine or neuter. The evidence from New Testament usage, and from early testimony, preponderates in favor of the former; requiring *τοῦ πονηροῦ* to stand for "the evil one." Barnabas speaks once of "the evil" (chap. xx), and twice of "the evil one" (chaps. ii. and xxi.). It is, of course,

allowable to leave the sense indeterminate. Paul speaks (2 Tim. iv. 18) of being delivered "from every evil work." And it may be that this petition in our Lord's Prayer is for deliverance from all evil. Compare John xvii. 15 in our Authorized Version.

P. 16, l. 165, 6.—"Three times in the day pray ye thus"] This is simply Biblical. See Ps. lv. 17; Dan. vi. 10, 13; Acts ii. 15 ("third hour"); Acts x. 9 ("sixth hour"); Acts iii. 1 ("ninth hour"); Acts x. 30 ("ninth hour"). In Apost. Const. vii. 24, we find also "thrice in a day;" but in Apost. Const. viii. 34, six hours of prayer are prescribed. This is one of the indications of the high antiquity of our document; and an indication also of the earlier date of the Seventh Book of the Constitutions as compared with the Eighth.

CHAP. IX.

This chapter has one word not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 16, l. 167.—"Now concerning the Eucharist"] *εὐχαριστία* is a New Testament word (occurring some 15 times), but meaning only "thanks," "thanksgiving," or "thankfulness." Ignatius of Antioch (115 A.D.) uses it repeatedly of the Lord's Supper (Philadelphians, chap. iv.; Smyrnæans, chaps. vii. and viii.). So likewise Justin Martyr (about 150 A.D.), in his First Apology § 66; and in the Dial. c. Try. §§ 41, 117.

P. 16, l. 169.—"the holy vine of David"] connecting Christ's Davidic descent with his calling himself the "true vine," John xv. 1. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis Dives Salvetur* § 29, calls Jesus "the vine of David."

P. 16, l. 172.—"And concerning the broken *bread*"] *κλάσμα* occurs 9 times in the New Testament, but only in the plural, and is rendered by the Revisers (1881) "broken pieces." The use of the word in this connection reminds us of Acts ii. 42,

46; xx. 7, 11; 1 Cor. x. 16 (κλώμενος ἄρτος), all of which relate to the Eucharist. The breaking of bread spoken of in Luke xxiv. 30, and in Acts xxvii. 35, apparently relates only to an ordinary meal.

P. 16, l. 175, 6.—"scattered over the hills"] This may have some bearing upon the question of locality of authorship, pointing towards Syria, or Asia Minor, rather than towards Egypt. But illustrations may of course be suggested by contrast.

P. 18, l. 181, 2.—"except those baptized"] Baptism must precede the Eucharist. In the Apost. Const. vii. 25, this point is much more strongly emphasized, and it is added: "If anyone not initiated conceals himself and partakes, he shall eat eternal judgment. But if one has partaken ignorantly, quickly instruct and initiate him, that he may not go out a despiser." Here is another indication of the earlier date of our document.

CHAP. X.

This chapter has one word not found in the New Testament, and one word not used in the New Testament sense.

The simplicity of this whole Eucharistic service is in marked contrast with the elaborateness of the later Liturgies.

P. 18, l. 185.—"Now after ye are filled"] The corresponding clause in Apost. Const. vii. 26, is Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν, "Now after the partaking." In John vi. 12 the expression, ὡς δὲ ἐνεπλήσθησαν, "and when they were filled" (satisfied), describes the feeding of the five thousand. Being "filled," ἐμπλησθῆναι, in the passage before us, is suggestive of the Agape, which, at first, was connected with the Eucharist (1 Cor. xi. 20-22), but appears to have been separated from it before the middle of the second century. If the Agape is included, we have another indication of high antiquity.

P. 18, l. 187.—"hast caused to dwell"] κατασκηνόω, transi-

tive here, is intransitive in the New Testament, and in Clement of Rome (1 Cor. lviii. 1).

P. 18, l. 190.—"Jesus thy servant"] Still another archaic feature, παῖς, not υἱός, being the word here employed. It is altogether Scriptural (see Matt. xii. 18; Acts iii. 13, 26; iv. 27, 30), but later writers were more careful to emphasize the Divinity of Christ.

P. 18, l. 191.—"Thou Master Almighty"] The primary meaning of δεσπότης is "master," as opposed to servant. The word occurs 28 times in the Septuagint; this number being equally divided between the Canonical and the Apocryphal Books. In the Canonical Books it stands for several different Hebrew words. In the New Testament δεσπότης occurs 10 times: being used three times of God, and twice of Christ. It occurs nearly 20 times in Clement of Rome (95 A.D.), twice in Barnabas (120? A.D.), and repeatedly in Hermas (130? A.D.); but much less frequently in writers after the middle of the second century: perhaps because, under the tyranny of persecuting Roman Emperors, the word became offensive. Here is another indication of the very early date of our document.

P. 18, l. 197.—"that thou art mighty"] A Scriptural (Ps. xxiv. 8; Luke i. 49), but not very common, form of expression. In this connection we find in the Apost. Const. vii. 26, a dogmatic statement with respect to Christ as both God and man, indicative of a later date.

P. 18, l. 204.—"Let grace come and let this world pass away"] Compare 1 Cor. vii. 31, "for the fashion of this world passeth away." As cited by Bryennios, Tertullian, in the 39th chapter of his Apology, represents Christians in Northern Africa (near the end of the second century) as praying *pro mora finis*, "for delay of the final consummation."

P. 20, l. 205.—"Hosanna to the son of David"] Emphasizing at once the humanity and the majesty of Jesus.

P. 20, l. 206.—"Maranatha"] Μαρανα θά occurs only once in

the New Testament (1 Cor. xvi. 22), and is printed μαρὰν ἀθά by Tischendorf and some other editors. It has generally been understood of the second coming of our Lord. But Chrysostom, and other Greek Fathers, appear to have understood it of the first coming. According to Dr. Frederick Field (*Otium Norvicense*, 1881), the Syriac original is *Moran etho*, which should be rendered (not "Our Lord cometh," but) "Our Lord came," or "Our Lord is come." The word, or expression, appears to have been used as a concluding formula in prayer. See Klostermann's *Probleme im Apostoltexte* (1883); and Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (1884).

P. 20, l. 207, 8.—"But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they will"] The prophets here spoken of are apparently the resident ministers of the Congregations, who, after going through with the prescribed forms of prayer, are to be permitted to pray according to their ability. Fixed prayer might be followed by free prayer. Precisely the same sort of service is described by Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 67. According to Justin Martyr, the προεστὼς, or officiating minister, having gone through with the prescribed forms of prayer, was to send up prayers and thanksgivings, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, "according to his ability" (or gifts), and the people were to respond "Amen."

CHAP. XI.

P. 20, l. 209.—"Whoever cometh"] Compare 1 Tim. i. 3; iv. 11; vi. 2, 3. Troublesome teachers came early.

P. 20, l. 212.—"overthrow"] The same Greek word occurs in Rom. xiv. 20, "Overthrow not for meat's sake the work of God."

P. 20, l. 214, 215.—"But in regard to the apostles and prophets"] Ἀπόστολος occurs but once in the Septuagint (1 Kings xiv. 6), where it means simply "a messenger." In the New Testament the word occurs 79 times, and is frequently employed in this

wider sense. In Acts xiv. 14, Barnabas is called an apostle. In Phil. ii. 25, Epaphroditus is called an apostle. In 1 Thess. ii. 6, Silvanus and Timothy appear as apostles. In 2 Cor. viii. 23, certain "brethren" are spoken of as "apostles of the churches."

Προφήτης has a similar latitude of meaning. The original idea is not that of a foreteller, but of an interpreter. In 1 Cor. xiv. 1, prophecy is spoken of as a spiritual gift to be coveted by all. From 1 Cor. xiv. 29–32, it is evident that there were many prophets. Accordingly, with respect both to apostles and prophets, our document merely reflects the usage of the New Testament. They were apparently only evangelists or itinerant preachers, who were not expected to remain long in one place. It was a later usage that restricted the meaning of the words.

P. 20, l. 218.—"*except for* one day"] Harnack inserts εἰ μή before ἡμέραν. Compare p. 22, l. 246.

P. 20, l. 219, 221, 2.—"if he [the apostle] remain three days, he is a false prophet . . . and if he ask money, he is a false prophet"] "Apostle" and "prophet" are thus used interchangeably. In Rev. ii. 2 mention is made of those who call themselves apostles, and they are not.

P. 20, l. 222, 3.—"And every prophet who speaketh in the spirit, ye shall not try nor judge"] The Greek is ἐν πνεύματι, without the article. See, especially, Rev. i. 10; iv. 2, where we find ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι, lit. "I became in the spirit." Spiritual rapture seems to be the idea intended. If the rapture was genuine, the "prophet" was above being judged.

P. 20, l. 225, 6.—"But not every one that speaketh in the spirit is a prophet"] He must "have the ways of the Lord," as required in Deut. xiii. 1–5.

P. 22, l. 229–231.—"And no prophet who orders a meal, in the spirit, eateth of it, unless indeed he is a false prophet"] A prophet may order meals for others, but not for himself.

P. 22, l. 234, 5.—"acting with a view to the mystery of the church on earth"] That is, acting in the service of the church,

which is a mystery. This use of εἰς after ποιέω occurs, though not frequently, in the New Testament: as in Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. Paul (in Rom. xvi. 25) speaks of the Gospel as an ἀποκάλυψις μυστηρίου, lit. "a revelation of a mystery," though rendered, in our version, "the revelation of the mystery." As for the absence of the article before ἐκκλησίας, see Heb. ii. 12, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας, which our translators have rendered "in the midst of the church;" and also 3 John 6, ἐνώπιον ἐκκλησίας, "before the church."

P. 22, l. 235, 6.—"not teaching *others* to do all that he himself doeth"] As Paul practised and recommended what he would not enjoin. See 1 Cor. yii. 6, 7.

P. 22, l. 237, 8.—"for so did the ancient prophets also"] The old Hebrew prophets, with the exception of Daniel, were all of them more or less ascetic; some of them, like Elijah, very much so.

P. 22, l. 239.—"Give me money," &c.] A prophet may ask money for others, but not for himself.

CHAP. XII.

This chapter contains two words found neither in the New Testament, nor in the Septuagint, nor in classic Greek.

P. 22, l. 242, 3.—"But let every one that cometh in the Lord's name be received"] Christian hospitality was greatly needed in the early times of persecution.

P. 22, l. 244.—"ye shall have understanding right and left"] A form of expression borrowed, apparently, from 2 Cor. vi. 7, "by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left." They need not be imposed upon. They might know the persons who sought their hospitality.

P. 22, l. 244, 5.—"If he who cometh is a traveller"] The classical word for "traveller" is παροδίτης. The LXX use πάροδος, as in 2 Sam. xii. 4, "And there came a traveller unto

the rich man." In the New Testament πάροδος occurs but once. Paul writes to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 7), "I do not wish to see you now by the way" (ἐν παρόδῳ). Παρόδιος is not found in the earlier Christian writers. Basil (d. 379) uses it as an adjective.

P. 22, l. 246–251.—"unless for two or three days . . . that no idler live with you as a Christian"] Compare 2 Thess. iii. 10, "If any will not work, neither let him eat." Christian hospitality was evidently much abused. But great care was taken to prevent lazy dependence upon Christian charity.

P. 22, l. 251, 2.—"one who maketh gain out of Christ"] Another word found neither in the New Testament, nor in classic Greek, and not much used by early Christian writers. It occurs in Ignatius, Trallians, chap. vi. (longer recension); and is also used by Gregory Nazianzen (d. 390 A.D.)

CHAP. XIII.

In this chapter there is only one word not found in the New Testament, and this is neither classical, nor in the Septuagint.

P. 24. l. 253, 4.—"But every true prophet who will settle among you"] The "prophet" here spoken of is a preacher who has come to stay.

P. 24, l. 254, 5.—"Likewise a true teacher"] Prophet, evangelist, pastor, and teacher represent, in the New Testament, four functions, which might all belong to the one office of presbyter. Pastors are not mentioned, as such, in our document.

P. 24, l. 256.—The teacher, like the prophet, is pronounced "worthy of his support." See Matt. x. 10. Also Apost. Const. vii. 28.

P. 24, l. 259.—"for they are your high-priests"] referring to the resident prophets, who are here called high-priests. Ἀρ-

χιερεῖς might be thought of as an interpolation, sacerdotalism dating from the latter part of the second century, Christ himself being the high-priest, according to the earlier writers, such as Clement of Rome (chap. xxxvi), and Ignatius of Antioch (Phil. chap. ix). The only Christian priesthood recognized in the New Testament is that of Christ himself (Heb. v. 5), and of Christian believers (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9). This last is probably the "new priesthood" referred to in Levi (chap. viii), the third of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs. If ordinary believers are priests, then ministers may be called high-priests. They were to receive the first fruits. Tithes are first mentioned towards the end of the second century, by Irenæus (Adv. Hær. iv. 18. 2), who speaks of them as not in keeping with the Christian spirit of active and absolute consecration to the Master. But ἀπαρχή is a word of frequent occurrence in the Septuagint, and is so used (9 times) in the New Testament as to give it early currency.

P. 24, l. 260.—"But if ye have no prophet, give it to the poor"] If there be no one who devotes his time and strength to the spiritual service of the congregation, the first fruits must be given to the poor.

P. 24, l. 261.—"If thou makest a baking of bread"] In classic Greek, σιτία is the plural of σιτίον (seldom used), meaning "grain," or "food" in general. Here, as in Byzantine Greek, it is a singular noun, and means "batch," or "baking of bread." According to Sophocles, it occurs at least twice in the *Apothegmata Patrum* (about 500 A.D.). In the Apost. Const. vii. 29, the injunction is, to give "a tenth to the orphan, the widow, the poor, and the stranger" [or proselyte], and to give "to the priests" [ministers], amongst other things, πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων θερμῶν, "all the first fruits of the hot bread."

P. 24, l. 265, 6.—"and give according to the commandment"] Repeating what was said in l. 261, 2. See 1 Cor. ix. 9–14, where Paul appeals to the Old Testament in arguing for ministerial support.

CHAP. XIV.

In this chapter there are three words not found in the New Testament, only one of which is classical.

P. 24, l. 267.—"But on the Lord's day"] The adjective occurs in the New Testament (1 Cor. xi. 20; Rev. i. 10), but not the noun. In the text, Κυρίου appears to be pleonastic. See Rev. i. 10, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, "on the Lord's day": the only place in the New Testament where this expression occurs. The date of it is about 69 A.D. The day itself began to be observed immediately after the resurrection of Christ. See John xx. 19, 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 1 (57 A.D.); Acts xx. 7 (at Troas, 58 A.D.). Barnabas, chap. xv., calls it "the eighth day." Ignatius (Magnesians, chap. ix.) calls it "the Lord's day." Justin Martyr, addressing the Roman Emperor, Senate, and people (I. Apol. § 67), speaks of it as "the day called Sunday." Eusebius (d. 340 A.D.), commenting on Psalm 92, was the first to call it "Sabbath" (see Montfaucon's *Collectio Nova Patrum*, i. 605). The observance also of Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, along with the Lord's day, is enjoined in the Apost. Const. vii. 23. But our document says nothing of Saturday; although, as a matter of fact, the Jewish Sabbath was still observed, even by Gentile Christians, and continued to be observed till after the Council of Laodicea (about 360 A.D.), whose 29th Canon secularized the day.

P. 24, l. 268, 9.—"after confessing"] ἐξομολογέω, with πρός prefixed, is not found in the New Testament, and is neither classical nor in the Septuagint.

P. 24, l. 269, 270.—"in order that your sacrifice may be pure"] Referring to the Eucharist, which was to be observed every Lord's day. Θυσία occurs 29 times in the New Testament; and is used figuratively 6 times, as, for example, in Heb. xiii. 15, "the sacrifice of praise." There is no suggestion here of what is meant by the "sacrifice of the mass." Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho (§ 117), likewise employs the word θυσία

in connection with the Eucharist, but goes on to say, that "prayers and thanksgivings, offered by the worthy, are the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices."

P. 24, l. 270.—"But every one that hath controversy"] ἀμφιβολία is not a New Testament word, nor is it found in the Septuagint. In classic Greek it has two senses: (1) "The state of being attacked on both sides," Herod. v. 74. (2) "Ambiguity," Aristotle, Poet. xxv. 11. Our document adopts the former. See Col. iii. 13, ἔχῃ μομφήν, "have a complaint."

CHAP. XV.

This chapter has one New Testament word not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 26, l. 277.—"Now appoint for yourselves"] Χειροτονέω occurs only twice in the New Testament (Acts xiv. 23; 2 Cor. viii. 19), and, in both places, means simply to "appoint." Josephus uses the word in precisely the same sense in Ant. xiii. 2. 2, where Alexander Balas, the pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, "appoints" Jonathan High Priest. The same meaning appears in Ant. vii. 9. 3; vii. 11. 1. But in Ant. vi. 5. 4, the noun χειροτονία is used of the coronation of Saul. In Josephus, accordingly, the *prevailing* sense of χειροτονέω is to "appoint." This is the meaning of the word also in the Epistles of Ignatius (about 115 A.D.); Philadelphians, Chap. x.; Smyrnæans, Chap. xi.; Polycarp, Chap. vii.

But in Apost. Canons I and II, and in Apost. Const. viii. 4. 5, χειροτονέω means to "ordain." This represents the usage of the third century, as the New Testament, Josephus, and Ignatius represent the usage of the first and second centuries.

Now it is noteworthy, that in the Apost. Const. vii. 31 (the section corresponding to the passage before us), the word employed is not χειροτονέω, which then meant to "ordain," but προχειρίζομαι, a new usage having obtained. In this fifteenth

chapter of the "Teaching," χειροτονέω is evidently employed in its original sense of "appoint." This is an indication of the high antiquity of our document, antedating by decades, if not by a whole century, or more, the "Apostolic Canons" and the "Apostolic Constitutions."

P. 26, l. 277, 8.—"bishops and deacons"] The corresponding passage in Apost. Const. (vii. 31) names the three orders of "bishops, presbyters, and deacons." Here, as in the New Testament, only two orders are named, "bishops and deacons." By bishops must, of course, be meant presbyters or elders. There is no hint of a bishop as distinguished from a presbyter; nor of a ruling elder as distinguished from a teaching elder; and, apparently, there was in each congregation a plurality both of presbyters (or elders) and of deacons.

P. 26, l. 280, 281.—"for they, too, render you the service of the prophets and teachers"] That is, they exercise the functions of prophets and teachers.

P. 26, l. 281, 2.—"Therefore neglect them not"] ὑπερίδητε, 2 aor. of ὑπερορά̈ω, which occurs but once in the New Testament, in Acts xvii. 30, where the Revisers render it "overlooked." In Thucydides (iv. 62) it may be rendered "slight." In Herodotus (v. 69), in the Apocryphal Sirach (xiv. 8), and in 2 Macc. (vii. 11, 23), it may be rendered "despise."

P. 26, l. 284.—"And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace"] Comp. Matt. v. 22.

P. 26, l. 285–7.—"and to every one that erreth against another, let no one speak, nor let him hear *any thing* from you, until he repent"] Christ's rule for dealing with offenders (Matt. xviii. 15–17) contemplates Church discipline in case the offender withstands private expostulation, first of the offended brother, then of "one or two more." The passage before us apparently assumes the possibility of bringing every offending brother to repentance, in case he is not angrily reproved. The assumption appears to be, that he will be conquered by kindness. This

idea is elaborated in the ninth of the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," where it is added, in substance, "even if he is obstinate, persisting in the wrong, nevertheless forgive him, and leave God to be the avenger."

But the passage is an obscure one, and possibly the meaning is, that the offender should be let severely alone until he repents.

CHAP. XVI.

This chapter contains five words not found in the New Testament, two of which are not classical; and one word not used in the New Testament sense.

P. 26, l. 292.—"Watch for your life's sake"] Γρηγορέω is a Septuagint and New Testament word, but belongs to the later Greek, and is not much used by Ecclesiastical writers (once by Ignatius to Polycarp, chap. i.). For this rendering of ὑπέρ, comp. Rom. i. 5, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, "for his name's sake."

P. 26, l. 293.—"be loosed"] ἐκλύομαι occurs five times in the New Testament, with the meaning of being weary, or faint. The meaning here accords with the more prevalent classical usage.

P. 26, l. 294.—"the hour in which our Lord cometh"] The eschatology of our document is not very sharply defined, and must therefore be interpreted by the help of other writings of the same, or nearly the same, period. The early Fathers were certainly expecting the speedy Advent of Christ. But most of them connected this Advent with the General Resurrection and the Final Judgment. Barnabas says (chap. xv.), that "in 6,000 years all things will be brought to an end together . . . that the Son of God will then put an end to the time of iniquity, and will judge the ungodly." Of all the Apostolic Fathers, Papias was the only Chiliast. Nor is there any trace of Chiliasm in any one of the Greek Apologists, unless it may be found in Justin Martyr; and he repeatedly connects the Second Advent of Christ with the Final Judgment (See 1 Apol.

§ 52; Dial. c. Try. §§ 45, 49, 113). Barnabas, it is true, speaks of a seventh day of a thousand years; but this millennium, unlike that of the Apocalypse, follows the Final Judgment. And so, what looks like Chiliasm in Justin's Dial. c. Try. § 80, must, if possible, be made to harmonize with the explicit and repeated declaration that the Second Advent brings with it the General Resurrection and the Final Judgment. That the Greek Apologists concealed their Chiliasm, through fear of the Roman Government, is an impeachment of their character, to be resorted to only in the last extremity. It is evident that both Barnabas and Justin Martyr were at a loss what to do with the thousand years of the Apocalypse; and yet it is equally evident that they were not Chiliasts. We take no great liberty, accordingly, in assuming that our document is not Chiliastic.

P. 26, l. 295.—"often"] πυκνῶς. The adverb is classical, but only the adjective occurs in the New Testament and in the Septuagint.

P. 26, l. 300.—"corrupters"] The same word that is rendered "destroyers," p. 12, l. 127.

P. 28, l. 301.—"hate"] μῖσος, occurring also in Apost. Const. vii. 32, is classical, and found in the Septuagint, though not found in the New Testament. The verb, however, occurs frequently in the New Testament.

P. 28, l. 304.—"the world-deceiver"] κοσμοπλάνος, occurring also in Apost. Const. vii. 32, is found neither in the New Testament, nor in the Septuagint, nor in classic Greek, though πλάνος is classical.

P. 28, l. 311.—"from under even this curse"] That is, from under the curse just described, the riot of iniquity. Κατάθεμα is borrowed from Rev. xxii. 3, and is probably a corrupt form. In Gal. iii. 13, "having become a curse for us," κατάρα is the word employed.

P. 28, l. 313.—"an opening in heaven"] ἐκπέτασις does not occur in the New Testament, nor in the Septuagint, but is used

by Plutarch in the sense of "a spreading out," "an expansion." Disembodied souls are represented as manifesting displeasure by crowding together, and joy by spreading apart, or expanding their ranks. See Plutarch's *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, chapter xxiii (Hackett and Tyler's edition). Regarding merely the terms employed, the action indicated by the ἐκπέτασις of our document would seem to be exactly the opposite of that indicated by ἑλίσσω in the Septuagint (Is. xxxiv. 4), and in the New Testament (Heb. i. 12; Rev. vi. 14); the former being an unrolling, and the latter a rolling together. But if the event referred to be what is elsewhere (2 Pet. iii. 10) described as a passing away of the heavens, ἐκπέτασις would answer the purpose of the writer. The rending of the heavens, spoken of in Is. lxiv. 1, is expressed in the Septuagint by a form of ἀνοίγω, "to open." See also Matt. iii. 16, and Rev. xix. 11.

P. 28, l. 314, 315.—"the resurrection of the dead, yet not of all"] This, of course, might be understood of the righteous only, to be followed, sooner or later, by the resurrection of the wicked. But nothing is said about the resurrection of the wicked. Still less is anything said, or implied, of a *millennial* interval between the two. For aught that appears, the vision before the mind of the writer may have been simply that of 1 Thess. v. 16, 17, dead saints rising first, and living saints being then caught up in the clouds; nothing at all being said about the wicked. It must not be overlooked that the New Testament throughout deals mainly with the resurrection of the righteous. In Matt. xxiv. 31 it is the "elect" that are to be gathered together. In the 15th Chap. of 1 Cor. Paul deals only with the resurrection of the righteous. In only two passages (John v. 28; Acts xxiv. 15) is the resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked explicitly taught. Clement of Rome (95 A.D.) says nothing of the resurrection of the wicked. The peculiar Chiliasm of Barnabas, so unlike that of Papias, is best explained by supposing it to have come in between the *Teaching* and Papias.

LIST OF WORDS NOT FOUND IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

* Indicates classical authority. † Indicates Septuagint authority.

ἀθάνατος, l. 94.* †
αἰσχρολόγος, l. 56.
ἀμφιβολία, l. 270.*
ἀνταποδότης, l. 91.
αὐθάδεια, l. 117.*
γόγγυσος, l. 66.
διαφορά, l. 4.* †
διγλωσσία, l. 42.
δίγλωσσος, l. 42.* †
διγνώμων, l. 41.
διπλοκαρδία, l. 116.
διψυχέω, l. 86.
ἐκπέτασις, l. 313.
ἐνδέω, l. 92, 128.* †
ἐπαοιδός, l. 59 * † (slightly different).
ἐριστικός, l. 53.*
ζηλοτυπία, l. 118.* †
θερμός, l. 144.* †
θράσος, l. 73.* †
θρασύτης, l. 118.*
θυμικός, l. 53.*
ἱδρόω, l. 32.*
κακοήθης, l. 45.*
κοσμοπλάνος, l. 304.
κυριακή, l. 267.
μαθηματικός, l. 60* (in a good sense).
μακρόθυμος, l. 70.†
μῖσος, l. 301.* †
μνησικακέω, l. 41.* †
οἰωνοσκόπος, l. 58.*
παιδοθορέω, l. 36.
πανθαμάρτητος, l. 130.
παρύδιος, l. 245.
περικαθαίρω, l. 60.* †
ποθέω, l. 83.* †
πονέω, l. 125.* †
πονηρόφρων, l. 67.
ποτός, l. 193, 195 (πότος in 1 Pet. iv. 3).* †
προνηστεύω, l. 147.*
προσεξομολογέω, l. 268.
πυκνῶς, l. 295.*
σιτία, l. 261.
συσπάω, l. 88.*
τετράς, l. 153.* †
ὑψηλόφθαλμος, l. 56.
φαρμακεύω, l. 37.* †
φθορεύς, l. 127, 300.*?
χριστέμπορος, l. 251.

This list of forty-eight words is more formidable in appearance than in reality. Allowing for closely related words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, or adverbs), the number would be very considerably reduced. For example, ἀθανασία is a New Testament word, while ἀθάνατος is not; and αἰσχρολογία is a New Testament word, while αἰσχρολόγος is not.

LIST OF NEW TESTAMENT WORDS NOT USED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT SENSE.

αἰσχύνη, l. 104.
δίκη, l. 28.
εἰρηνεύω, l. 83.
ἐκλύομαι, l. 293.
εὐχαριστία, l. 167.
ζηλωτής, l. 52, 3.
κατασκηνόω, l. 187.
κυριότης, l. 80.
παρεκτός, l. 133.
συνοχή, l. 29.
ὑπερῳρίω, l. 282.
ὕψος, l. 118.
φθορά, l. 38.

APPENDIX.

DIGEST OF THE DIDACHE LITERATURE,

BY

PHILIP SCHAFF.

I.—*Editio Princeps of* BRYENNIOS, *Constantinople.*

Διδαχὴ | τῶν | δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων | ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου | νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη | μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων | . . . ὑπὸ | Φιλοθέου Βρυεννίου | μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. | ἐν Κωνσταντινοπόλει | 1883. (TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES, *from the Jerusalem manuscript, now published for the first time, with Prolegomena and Notes, together with a collation and unpublished part of the Synopsis of the Old Testament by John Chrysostom, from the same manuscript, by* PHILOTHEOS BRYENNIOS, *Metropolitan of Nicomedia*, Constantinople, printed by S. I. Boutoma, 1883. The title page has also a motto from Clemens Alex., *Strom.* lib. vi. p. 647: "We must not ignorantly condemn what is said on account of him who says it . . . but we must examine it to see if it keep by the truth," εἰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχεται.) This edition of the discoverer contains 149 pages Prolegomena and 55 pages text with notes, to which are added indexes and corrigenda (pp. 57–75). It is the only one taken from the MS. itself, and the basis of all other editions. The first part of the Prolegomena is devoted to the *Didache* itself; the second part contains corrections and additions to the edition, the Epistles of Clemmens Rom. and Barnabas, Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Old Testament, and other matter from the Jerusalem (Constantinopolitan) MS.

of the *Didache*. Comp. also a brief letter of Bryennios in the *Andover Review* for June, 1884, p. 662-663. He assigns the *Didache* to between A.D. 120-160. In a conversation with Prof. E. A. Grovenor, of Robert College, Constantinople, published in the New York *Independent* for Oct. 16, 1884, Bryennios expressed his view on the value of the "Teaching" to the effect that the first six chapters, which enforce duties and prohibit sins and crimes, must be regarded as coming from the Lord through the Apostles, and therefore as binding, but that the last ten chapters, which consist mainly of liturgical and ecclesiastical ordinances, "have no authority whatever, except so far as the writer happens to be correct in his injunctions. How far he was correct in these injunctions, the Bishop says we cannot know." He went on to say: "Christ did not formulate a system. He gave only a faith; and the Apostles did hardly more." . . . "There is all the difference, between the two parts, of inspiration on the one side, and of human compilation and contrivance on the other."

II.—*German Editions, Translations, and Discussions.*

* ADOLF HILGENFELD (Prof. in Jena): *Novum Test. extra canonem receptum, Fasc. iv. ed. II. aucta et emendata.* Lips. (T. O. Weigel) 1884, pp. 87-121. The Greek text with critical notes and conjectural readings. The same volume contains the fragments of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Preaching and Acts of Peter and Paul, the Apocalypse of Peter, the *Didascalia Apost.*, the *Duæ Viæ* or *Judicium Petri.* HILGENFELD wrote also a notice of the *Didache* in his "Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie," Leipzig, 1884, pp. 366-371, and a more elaborate one in the same periodical for 1885, Erstes Heft, pp. 73-102. He regards the *Did.* as a link between the Ep. of Barnabas (c. 18-20) and the seventh book of the Apost. Const. (1-21), and assumes that it is in its present shape a later adaptation of the original doctrine of the *Duæ Viæ* to the use of Montanism after the middle of the second century. He defends this view at length against Harnack, who maintains the unity and integrity of the treatise (see his notice of Hilgenfeld in the "Theol. Lit. Ztg." for 1884, No. 14, p. 342).

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AUG. WÜNSCHE (Lic. Dr.): *Lehre der zwölf Apostel. Nach der Ausgabe des Metropoliten Philotheos Bryennios. Mit Beifügung des Urtextes, nebst Einleitung und Noten ins Deutsche übertragen.* Leipzig (Otto Schulze), 1884, 34 pages. The second edition of the same year is slightly improved, but not enlarged.

* ADOLF HARNACK (Prof. of Church History in Giessen): *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (including an appendix by Oscar von Gebhardt). In "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristl. Literatur," herausgeg. von Oscar von Gebhardt und Ad. Harnack." Band II. Heft 1, 1884 (July). J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. The Gr. text and Germ. trans. with notes, pages 70 ; Prolegomena, pages 294. The most elaborate work on the *Didache*. The author directed early attention to it in Germany, and gave a translation of chaps. 7-16 in the "Theol. Literaturzeitung" for February 3, 1884. He maintains that the *Did.* was composed in Egypt between A.D. 120 and 165 ; that the author made use of Barnabas and Hermas; that one and the same writer interpolated the *Apostolical Constitutions* and the Ignatian Epistles, so that Pseudo-Clement and Pseudo-Ignatius are identical ; and that this literary forger was a Syrian bishop of the semi-Arian party during the reign of Constantine.—In the New York *Independent* for February 19, 1885, Harnack made another contribution to the *Didache* literature in answer to a letter of Dr. C. G. W. Dobbs, of Madison, Ind., concerning the baptismal question, on which he expresses the following views: 1) *Baptizein* undoubtedly signifies immersion ; 2) no proof of any other meaning can be found in the New Testament and in the most ancient Christian literature ; 3) no passage in the New Testament suggests any other sense but *immerse, submerge ;* 4) the *Didache* (ch. 7) furnishes the first proof that baptism by aspersion was facultatively administered when outward circumstances rendered immersion impossible or impracticable. He concludes that "from the beginning in the Christian world immersion was the rule ; but that quite early the sacrament was considered to be complete when the water was applied, not in the form of a bath, but in the form of an aspersion. But the rule was also certainly maintained that immersion was obli-

gatory, if the outward conditions of such a performance were at hand."

The Greek text alone was reprinted in LUTHARDT'S "Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben," Leipzig, 1884, Heft III. 139–143.

* THEOD. ZAHN: *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T.-lichen Kanons und der altkirchl. Lit.* Erlangen (Deichert) 1884, Theil III. (*Supplementum Clementinum*) pp. 278–319. Comp. also his review of Harnack's work in Luthardt's "Theologisches Literaturblatt," No. 26 and 28, Leipzig, June 27 and July 11, 1884. Dr. Zahn, one of the best patristic scholars, assigns to the *Did.* its historic position in the post-apostolic literature as originating in Egypt between A.D. 80–130, and in the review of Harnack (which is rather unfavorable) he suggests several plausible emendations of the text and explains difficult passages (as the μυστήριον κοσμικόν, ch. 11, in substantial agreement with Bryennios against Harnack).

G. BICKELL (Prof. in the R. Cath. University of Innsbruck): *Die neuentdeckte "Lehre der Apostel" und die Liturgie.* In the "Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie," Innsbruck, 1884, Jahrgang VIII. Heft II. pp. 400–412. Dr. B. regards the *Didache* as the source of the "Apostolic Church Order" (first edited in Greek by his father who was a Protestant) and of the seventh book of the "Apost. Constitutions," and puts it at the beginning of the second century, if not earlier. He finds in it the doctrine of purgatory (ch. 1, comp. Matt. 5:26), of the distinction between good works commanded and good works recommended (chs. 6 and 11), and of the sacrifice of the mass (chs. 9, 10, 11, 14).

F. X. FUNK (R. Cath. Prof. of Ch. Hist. in Tübingen): *Die Doctrina Apostolorum.* In the "Theol. Quartalschrift," Tübingen, 1884, No. III. pp. 381–402. German translation and discussion. He assigns the *Did.* to the first century and before Barnabas, and regards it as the oldest post-apostolic book. He traces it to Egypt.

* DR. KRAWUTZCKY (Rom. Cath. Subregens in Breslau): *Ueber die sog. Zwölfapostellehre, ihre hauptsächlichsten Quellen und ihre erste Aufnahme*, in the "Theol. Quartalschrift," Tübingen, 1884, No. IV., pp. 547–606. Kr. derives the *Didache* from a lost book, called *Duæ*

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Viæ or *Judicium Petri* (according to Rufinus, *In Symb. Apost.*, c. 38, and Jerome, *De viris ill.*, c. 1), from the Ep. of Barnabas (chs. 18-20), and the Pastor of Hermas, and assigns it to an Ebionite heretic at the close of the second century. This novel view, if proven, would materially diminish the value of the *Didache*. In a previous article in the same Quarterly (1882, No. III., pp. 433-445), Dr. Kr. had made a critical attempt to reconstruct, from the *Apost. Church Order*, the Seventh Book of the *Apost. Constitutions*, and the Ep. of Barnabas, the lost book, *Judicium Petri*, but declines now to accept the *Didache* as this original, although the results of his sagacious restoration agree substantially with the *Didache* as since published.

PAUL CASSEL: Notice in "Sunem," No. 25, 1884.

O. ZÖCKLER: *Die L. der 12 Ap.* in his "Evang. Kirchenzeitung," Greifswalde, 1884, Nos. 18 and 33.

PASTOR PETERSEN in Rellingen: *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel. Mittheilungen über den handschriftlichen Fund des Metropoliten Philotheos Bryennios und Bemerkungen zu demselben.* Flensburg, 1884, 15 pages.

G. N. BONWETSCH (Dorpat): *Die Prophetie im apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter*, in Luthardt's "Zeitschrift," Leipz., 1884, Heft VIII. pp. 408-423; Heft IX. 460 sqq. He puts the *Didache* between 100 and 125.

H. HOLTZMANN (Prof. in Strassburg): *Die Didache und ihre Nebenformen*, in the "Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie" (Leipzig) for 1885, Heft I. pp. 154-167. A critical discussion of the relation of the Didache to Barnabas, Hermas, the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Ap., and the seventh Book of the Apost. Constitutions. H. accepts Harnack's view of the identity of Pseudo-Ignatius and Pseudo-Clemens, who was a semi-Arian clergyman and made use of the Didache and the Apost. Canons, but differs from him as regards the relation of the Didache to the cognate documents, and regards the Didache and Barnabas as two co-ordinate recensions of the allegory of the Two Ways or the Judicium Petri.

[Additional articles:[1] "Allgemeine Zeitung" (Munich), Jan. 25

[1] Date 1884, if not otherwise stated.—The supplementary lists do not claim to be exhaustive.

(first information in Germany concerning Bryennios' *Editio Princeps*); "Allgemeine Evangel. Luth. Kirchenzeitung," No. 9; "Beweis des Glaubens," July (review of Harnack, Erste Hälfte); "Lit. Centralblatt," March 15 (review of Bryenn., *ed. princ.*, by A. HILGENFELD), Jan. 24, 1885 (review of Harnack, by Ψ); "Lit. Rundschau," No. 4 (notice by F. X. FUNK); "Neue Evang. Kirchenzeitung," Sept. 20 (brief notice of Bryenn., Harnack, Wünsche, Funk, and Zahn); "Theologische Quartalschrift" (Tübingen), 1885, I. (review of Harnack and Wünsche, by F. X. FUNK); "Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.," 1885, I. (notice of his own ed. of "Teaching," by A. HILGENFELD).]

III.—*English Editions, Translations, and Discussions.*

Rev. A. ROBERTSON, in the "Durham University Journal" for February, 1884, gave the first notice of the *Did.* in England.

Prof. JOHN WORDSWORTH (Oxford): *Christian Life, Ritual, and Discipline at the close of the First Century.* In "The Guardian," London, March 19, 1884. Supplement. J. W. gives a summary of the contents of each chapter, with a version of the more important passages, and brief notes.—Several articles by various Anglican writers appeared on the *Did.* in subsequent numbers of the "Guardian" for 1884.

Dr. FREDERIC W. FARRAR (Archdeacon of Westminster): *The Teaching of the Apostles.* In the "Contemporary Review" for May, 1884 (London), pp. 698-706. A translation with brief notes. An article by the same in the "Expositor," ed. by Rev. Samuel Cox, London (Hodder & Stoughton), May, 1884, pp. 374-392. A discussion of the character and age of the "Teaching" which he assigns to about A.D. 100, prior to the Ep. of Barnabas and the Pastor of Hermas.

H. DE ROMESTIN, M.A. (Incumbent of Freeland, and Rural Dean): *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Διδ. τ. δώδ. Ἀπ.). *The Greek Text with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Illustrative Passages.* Parker & Co., Oxford and London, 1884 (Oct.), 118 pages.

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Contains, besides what is indicated in the title, the Ecclesiastical Canons in Greek (reprinted from Harnack), the same in English from the Coptic version of Henry Tattam (London, 1848), and the Seventh Book of the Apostolical Constitutions in Greek. The author has made much use of Bryennios, Harnack, and Hilgenfeld, and assigns the *Did.* to the last quarter of the first century, but determines nothing as to its locality. "It may well be the oldest Christian writing after the books of the New Testament, perhaps even earlier than most of them" (p. 6). In the text he adopts the chapter division of Bryennios and the versicular division of Harnack.

Canon SPENCE: *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. A translation with Notes and Exercises illustrative of the Teaching, and the Greek Text.* London (Nisbet & Co.), 1885, pp. 180. [Not yet received by the writer.]

Brief notices by anonymous writers in "The Church Quarterly Review" (London) for April, 1884, pp. 213-217; in "The Foreign Church Chronicle and Review" (Rivingtons, London), for June 2, 1884, pp. 92-98 and 112-116 (translation and notice); by BOASE in "The Academy," April 19, 1884; by GORDON in "The Modern Review," July, 1884.

Bishop LIGHTFOOT (of Durham), a brief notice in a paper on *Results of recent Historical and Topographical Research upon the Old and New Testament Scriptures*, read at the Carlisle Church Congress, Sept.-Oct., 1884 [published also in "Expositor," Jan., 1885]. He dates the *Didache* "with most English and some German critics, somewhere between A.D. 80-100," and assigns it, "with some probability," to Alexandria. He says: "Remembering that the whole work occupies only a little more than six octavo pages, we are surprised at the amount of testimony—certainly much more than we had any right to expect—which it bears to the Canon of the New Testament."

Rev. H. HAYMAN, D.D. (R. C.), in the "Dublin Review," No. XXV. (Jan., 1885), pp. 91-106. He divides the *Did.*, like Hilgenfeld (without naming him), in two parts at ch. 7th, but assigns it to the region of Thessalonica, where the Epistles to the Thessalonians were known.

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[Additional articles:[1] "Academy," Jan. 31, 1885 (review of Spence, by R. B. DRUMMOND); "Athenæum," July 19 (review of Wünsche), Feb. 7, 1885 (review of Harnack and Spence); "Contemporary Review," April (G. T. STOKES, in *Contemporary Records*), Aug. (*Id. lb.*), Jan., 1885 (*Id. lb.*); "Dublin Review," Oct. (review of literature, by W. E. ADDIS); "Evangelical Magazine" (London), Feb., 1885 (brief notice of Spence); "Guardian," March 26 (a correction by J. W[ORDSWORTH], and Note on l. 32 sq. by SUBDEC. SARISB.), June 11 (note on l. 234 sq., etc., by E. B. BIRKS), June 18 (letters against Birks by W. BRIGHT, J. S. HOWSON, W. F. HOBSON, H. DE ROMESTIN), June 25 (very important article by E. L. H.), July 2 (letters by W. R. CHURTON, E. B. BIRKS, T. FIELD, C. W. J., W. J.), July 9 (postscript by E. L. H., brief query by G. B. HOWARD); "Indian Evangelical Review" (Calcutta), Jan., 1885 (transl.,—reprint of Hitchcock and Brown,—and notes); "Lobb's Theological Quarterly" (London), July (trans., with introductory remarks); "Scottish Church Review," June (article by J. DOWDEN)]; "Westminster Review," Jan., 1885 (notice of Bryennios).

IV.—*American Editions and Works.*

* ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK and FRANCIS BROWN (Professors in the Union Theol. Seminary, New York): Διδ. τ. δώδ. Ἀπ. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Recently discovered and published by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia. Edited with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884. Pages vi, 37.

This edition was issued in March, a few days after the arrival of the first copy of the edition of Bryennios from Constantinople, via Leipzig, and had the unprecedented sale of nearly eight thousand copies in a few months.

* Rev. C. C. STARBUCK and Prof. EGBERT C. SMYTH (Andover Theol. Seminary): *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Translation and Synopsis of the Introduction of Bryennios. In the "Andover Re-

[1] Date 1884, if not otherwise stated.

view" for April, 1884. This article appeared almost simultaneously with the preceding edition, and likewise had a very large circulation.

—EGBERT C. SMYTH: *Baptism in the "Teaching" and in early Christian Art*, in the "Andover Review" for May, 1884, p. 533-547.

Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Text and Translation together with Critical and Illustrative Papers by Eminent Scholars. Reproduced from "The Journal of Christian Philosophy." New York (ed. and publ. by *J. A. Paine*, 30 Bible House), April, 1884, 84 pages. Contents: Gr. text and trsl. by S. STANHOPE ORRIS; Genuineness, Priority, Source and Value of the Teaching, by J. RENDEL HARRIS; Phraseology by ISAAC H. HALL; Comments by ELIJAH R. CRAVEN.

PROF. J. C. LONG: *Sources of the "Teaching,"* "Baptist Quarterly," July-Sept., 1884.

ISAAC H. HALL: Translation in "Sunday School Times," Philadelphia, 1884, April 5 and 12.

FR. GARDINER (of the Berkely Divinity School, Middletown, Ct.), a translation published first in the New York "Churchman," March 29, 1884, and separately as a pamphlet, New York (James Pott & Co.), 1884 (26 small pages).

E. EDWIN HALL: *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* In "The New Englander," vol. vii. July, 1884, pp. 544-560. Comparison with the Coptic Canons.

HEMAN LINCOLN, a notice in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" (now published at Oberlin, Ohio, formerly at Andover) for July, 1884, pp. 590-594.

LEMUEL S. POTWIN (Prof. in Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio): *The Vocabulary of the "Teaching of the Apostles."* In the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for Oct., 1884, pp. 800-817.

J. FITZGERALD: *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* New York (John B. Alden), 1884. The Greek text and English translation.

The American religious press has very generally and repeatedly discussed the *Did.* for several months after its publication, with special reference to the baptismal and episcopal questions, but very often from a worthless sectarian point of view. The most valuable articles appeared in the New York "*Independent*," which first directed attention to the *Did.* and gave a translation of chs. 7-16 by

Dr. Gregory of Leipzig (from Harnack's German translation in the "Theol. Literaturzeitung").

[Additional articles:[1] "American Catholic Quarterly," April (brief notice of Hitchcock and Brown); "Andover Review," June (letter from BRYENNIOS, art., *Immersion only valid Baptism*, by H. S. BURRAGE, and *Comment*, by E. C. SMYTH), Nov. (letter from E. A. GROSVENOR, edit. notice of Lightfoot's paper at Carlisle Church Congress); "Augustana Observer" (Rock Island, Ill.), July (translation); "American Philological Association, Proceedings of," July (paper by C. K. NELSON); A. A. BENTON: *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (essay at General Theol. Sem., New York, May 29); "Boston Advertiser," July 30, Oct. 10 (letters from Constantinople); "Canadian Baptist," March; "Christian Advocate" (*About Bryennios*, etc., by C. HAMLIN); "Christian at Work" (art. by FRANZ DELITZSCH); "Christian Register," April 17 (art. by N. S. FOLSOM); *Ib.* p. 484 (art. by S. DAVIDSON); "Church Eclectic," May (trans. by J. ANKETELL), July (art. by T. RICHEY); "Churchman," April 12 (edit. note and art. by W. ADAMS), April 26 (letter from E. RANSFORD), May 17 (*Primitive Episcopacy*, by H. PYNE), June 28 (art. by W. ADAMS); "Critic" (New York), March 29 (review of edition of Hitchcock and Brown), Aug. 9 (reprint of letter to "Boston Advertiser" of July 30, with comments by W. H. WARD and F. BROWN); "Delaware Dairyman" (Franklin, N. Y.), April 25 (art. by G. R. ENTLER); "Disciple of Christ" (Cincinnati, O.), April 1, May 1 (*Oldest book of Church Order*, I., II., by J. Z. TYLER), May 1 (edit. notes and trans., by S. M. JEFFERSON), May 15 (edit. notes), June 1 (edit., *Primitive Baptism*), June 15 (edit., *Baptism and Teaching*) July 1 (edit., *Modes of Baptism*); "Episcopal Recorder," June 5 (*Eschatol. of Didache*, by N. WEST); "Examiner," April 3 (edit., *Reopening the Controversy*), July 17 (*The "Teaching" and the Pictures*, by H. OSGOOD), July 31 (*Immersion in the Old Testament*, ID.), Aug. 21 (review of Harnack, by A. H. NEWMAN); "Independent" (New York), Feb. 28, p. 16, edit. (first mention in America; *A Great Discovery in Ch. Hist.*, trans. ch. vii-xvi, after Harnack, Theol. Lit.-

[1] Date 1884, if not otherwise stated.

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view," April (note by R. D. HITCHCOCK), July (review of Hitchcock and Brown by M. R. VINCENT, also notice of Hilgenfeld and brief note by F. BROWN), Oct. (review of Harnack, Zahn, and Wünsche, ID); "Religious Herald" (Hartford, Conn.), May 1, 8, 15, 29 (four arts. by T. S. POTWIN); "Standard" (Chicago), May 8 (notes by J. A. BROADUS); "Watchman," May 1 (art. by R. C. Mills); "Zion's Advocate," April 2 (edit.).]

V.—*French Discussions.*

DUCHESNE, notice in "Bulletin Critique," Paris, 1884, Nos. 5, 17.

E. DE MURALT: *L'enseignement des douzes apôtre*, in "Revue de théologie et de philosophie" for May, 1884, pp. 278-291.

G. BONET-MAURY (Prof. in the Faculté de Théologie Protestante in Paris): *La doctrine des douze apôtres*, Paris, 1884, 36 pages. A French translation with critical and historical notes, first published in the "Critique Philosophique" and "Critique Religieuse," assigns the book to Egypt between 160 and 190, and agrees with Hilgenfeld that it has a Montanistic coloring.

PAUL SABATIER (Librarian of the Prot. Theol. Seminary in Paris): A translation of the text in the "Église Libre," noticed by Massebieau, p. 6.

MÉNÉGOZ: In the Lutheran journal, *Le Témoignage*, Paris, 1884 (quoted by Massebieau, p. 30).

L. MASSEBIEAU: *L'enseignement des douze apôtres*, Paris (Ernest Leroux), 1884, 36 pages [from "Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions," Sept.–Oct., 1884]. He briefly but ably discusses the contents of the *Did.*, and assigns it to Rome at the end of the first century (p. 35).

[Additional article: "Revue Théologique" (Montauban), July–Sept., 1884 (*Les Origines de l'Épiscopat*, by S. MATHIEU).]

VI.—*Editions and Discussions in Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish.*

J. J. PRINS: *Bryennios Διδ. τ. δ. ἀπ. E codice Hierosolymitano, nunc Constantinopolitano, nupperrime primum edita. In usum studiosæ juventutis repetit.* Ludg. Bat. (E. J. Brill), 1884, 16 pages.

C. VARMING: *De tolv apostles lærdom. Et skrift fra det andet Kristelige århundrede, oversat.* Kobenhavn, 1884, 35 pages.

J. E. BERGGREN: *Om den nyligen återfunna skriften,* "*De tolf apostlarnes lära.*" In "Teologisk Tidskrift grundad af A. F. Beckman," etc. Upsala, 1884, Tredje Häftet, pp. 200-206.

A. S. POULSEN: *Et igenfundet Skrift fra Kirkens ældste Tiden.* Kobenhavn, 1884.

C. P. CASPARI (Dr. and Prof. of Theology in Christiania): *Den aldste Kircheordning,* in "Luthersk Ugeskrift," Lordag, June, 1884, Nos. 24 and 25. Translation and notes. Dr. C., well known by his antiquarian researches, asserts the priority of the *Did.* over the Ep. of Barnabas, and regards it as a Judæo-Christian (but not Ebionite) production of Palestine from the close of the first century.

"Theologisk Tidsskrift for den ev. luth. Kirke i Norge" (Christiania), Neue Reihe, B. X., 1884, I. Greek text, reprinted from Bryennios.

[Add. as VII., Discussions in Greek, "Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια" (Constant.), Jan. 17, 1884 (art. by PH. BAPHIDES), also Feb. 15 and 29, 1884.]

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